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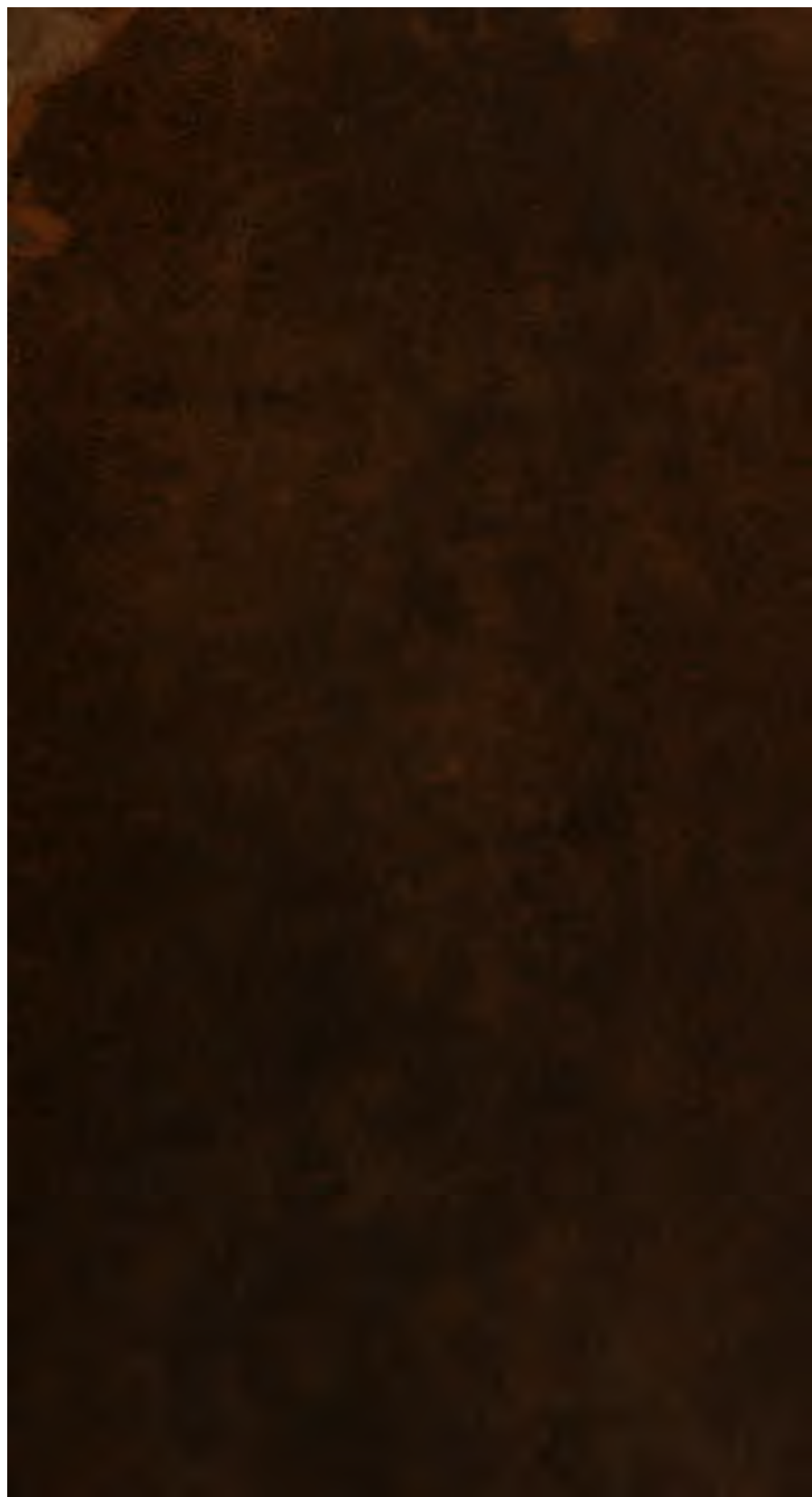
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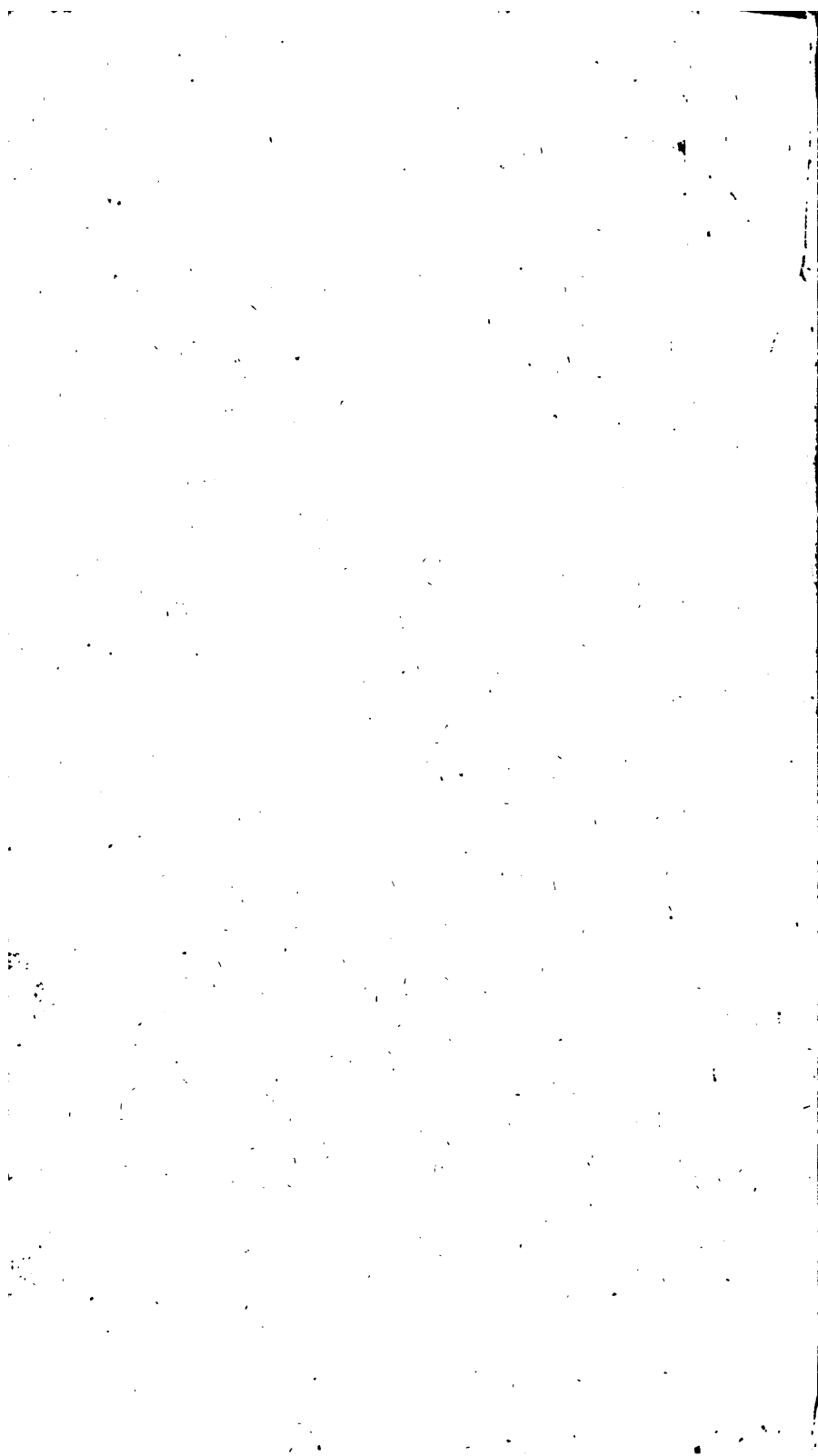
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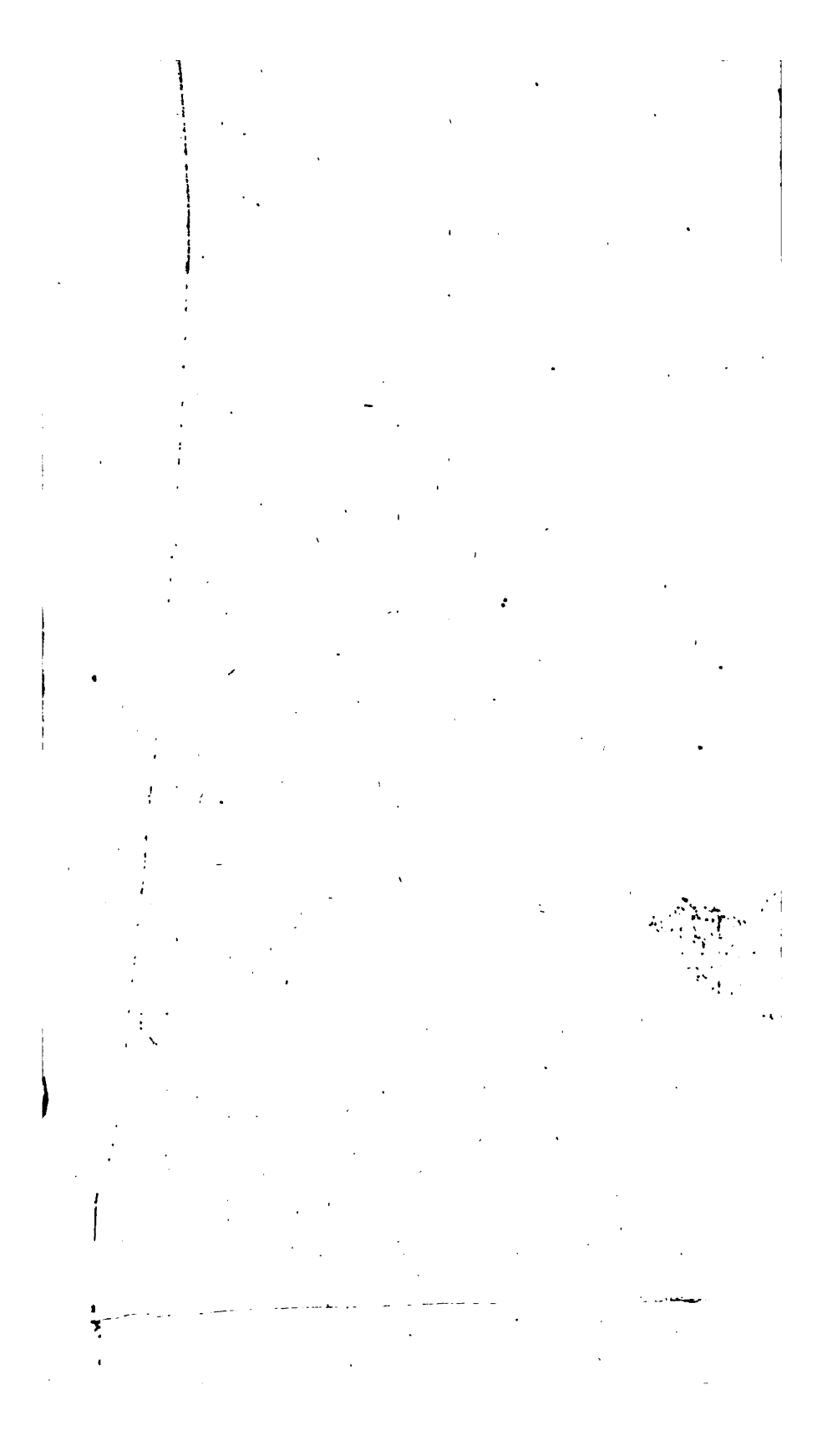
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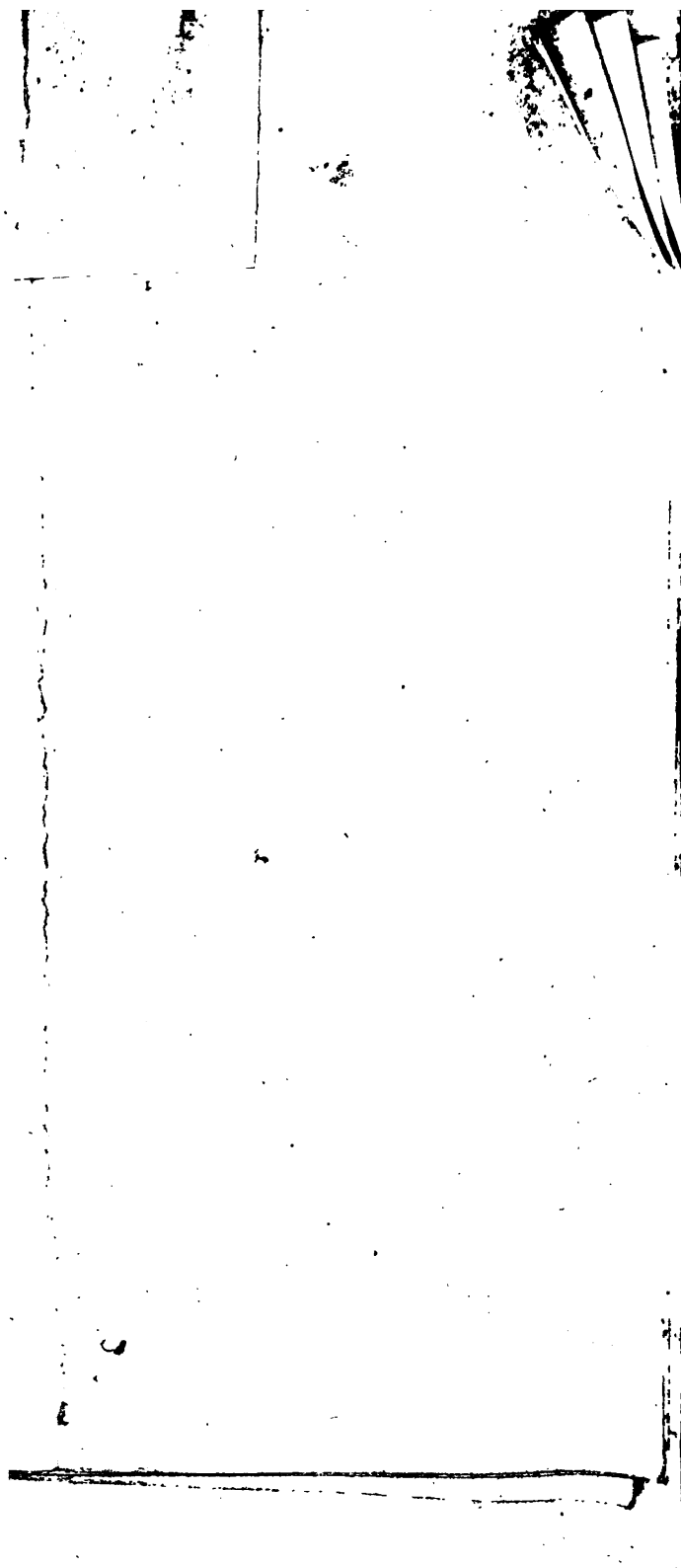












A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE  
OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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Translated from the French of the Abbé RESNAL,  
By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

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# I N D E X

TO THE

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A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
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OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

---

B O O K I.

*Trade of Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, to the East Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with the Indies.*

**I**T is the general opinion; that in the earliest times, **B O O K**  
a people called the Cimbri possessed, at the ex- **I.**  
tremity of Germania, the Cimbric Chersonesus, now Antient  
known by the name of Holstein, Sleswic and Jutland; revolutions  
and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent islands. in Den-  
mark.  
Whether these people had or had not the same origin,  
certain it is, that they came out of their forests or fens  
together in a body, and as one nation, and penetrated  
among the Gauls, in quest of booty, glory, and a mild-  
er climate. They were even preparing to cross the  
Alps, when Rome thought it was proper to stem a tor-  
rent which carried all before it. Those barbarians tri-  
umphed over all the generals, that proud republic sent

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B

to

to oppose them, till that memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

THEIR country, which became almost a desert after that terrible catastrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vast space between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, marched towards the north and west of Europe, subduing all the nations they found in their way. They enslaved Russia, Saxony, Westphalia, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin their leader traversed so many countries, and fought to subdue them, only with a view to excite the people against the formidable, odious and tyrannical power of the Romans. That animosity, which at the time of his death he had raised in the north, fermented so strongly in secret, that some centuries after, all nations with one accord fell upon that empire, the enemy to all liberty, and had the satisfaction of subverting it, having first weakened it by repeated concussions.

DENMARK and Norway remained without inhabitants after these glorious expeditions. They gradually and quietly recovered, and were first taken notice of again, towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itself, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two seas, they commenced pirates, which is always the first step towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

THEY first made trial of their strength against the neighbouring states, and seized the few merchant ships they found sailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by these successes, they were enabled to plan more considerable undertakings. They infested the seas and coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even Spain, Italy, and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of those vast countries, and

and even ventured upon the conquest of Normandy and England. Notwithstanding the confusion that reigns in the annals of those barbarous times, we may still trace some of the causes of so many strange events.

BOOK  
I.

THE people of Denmark and Norway had originally a strong propensity to piracy, which has always been observed in people bordering upon the sea, when they are not restrained by civilization and good laws. Custom must necessarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to its storms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a scanty resource in hunting, in a country covered with ice and snow, they could have no strong attachment to their own territories. The facility with which they built their ships, which were nothing more than rafts, clumsily put together for sailing along the coasts, afforded them the means of an easy access to all parts, and enabled them to make descents, to plunder, and to reembark. Piracy was to them what it had been to the first heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; the profession of honour, which consisted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inspired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, sometimes under the joint command of different chiefs, and sometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. These sudden attacks, made in a variety of places at once, left to the inhabitants of the coasts, who were but ill defended, because they were ill governed, only the sad alternative of being massacred, or giving up their all to redeem their lives.

THIS destructive character was a natural consequence of the savage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impostor, improved, if we may be allowed to say so, the natural fierceness of those nations by his sanguinary doctrines. He would have all



## B O O K

## I.

the implements of war deified, such as swords, axes, and lances. The most sacred engagements were confirmed by these precious instruments. A lance set up in the middle of a plain, was the signal for prayer and sacrifice. Wodin himself at his death was ranked amongst the immortal gods, and was the first deity of those horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were stained and consecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the God of armies, the father of slaughter, the depopulator, the incendiary. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to send him a certain number of souls that they devoted to him. These souls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that that God appeared in every battle, either to protect those who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he chose for himself. That these followed him to the regions of bliss, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, as to martyrdom, to obtain this reward. This belief increased their natural propensity to war, till it grew to enthusiasm, and to a holy thirst for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas resulting from such a system. The missionaries endeavoured to bring the profelytes to a sedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their instructions. They disgusted them of their roving life, by suggesting other means of subsistence. They were so happy as to inspire them with a love of agriculture, and still more of fishing. The great plenty of herrings which then flocked to their coasts, afforded them an easy means of procuring food. The overplus of this fish, they soon learnt to barter for the salt they wanted to cure the rest. These growing connections were encouraged by one common faith, new prospects, mutual wants, and great safety. This made such a total revolution, that since the conversion of the

Danes.

Danes and Norwegians, not a single instance is to be found in history, of their expeditions and depredations. BOOK  
I.

*THE new spirit* which seemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication more and more with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the ascendant of the Hanse towns. Even when that great and singular confederacy fell to decay, Hamburg still maintained the superiority it had acquired over all the subjects of the Danish dominions. They were beginning to break the bands that had subjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the East Indies, by an incident that deserves to be taken notice of.

A DUTCH factor, named Boschower, being sent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, so ingratiated himself with that monarch, that he became chief of his council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boschower, intoxicated with these honours, hastened to Europe, to make a parade of them to his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldness with which those republicans received the titled slave of an Asiatic court; and was so highly provoked at it, that he went over to Christiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his services, and the interest he had at Ceylon. His proposals were accepted. He sailed in 1618, with six ships, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the company that had associated to undertake the trade of the Indies. His death, which happened in their passage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon, and their chief, Ové Giedde de Tommerup, saw no other resource than to carry them to Tanjour, the nearest part of the continent.

Denmark  
undertakes  
the trade of  
the Indies.

## BOOK

## I.

TANJOUR is a small state, which is but a hundred miles in its greatest length, and eighty in its greatest breadth. It is of all that coast the province that bears the greatest quantity of rice. By means of this natural wealth, of a great many common manufactures, and plenty of roots used for dying, the public revenue amounts to near five millions, (218,750*l.*). Its fertility is owing to its being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of 400 miles from the head, it divides in two streams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eastern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and subdivides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preserve it from that horrible drought which burns up the rest of Coromandel for the greatest part of the year.

THIS happy situation made the Danes wish to settle a colony in Tanjour. Their proposals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory, on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortrefs of Dannebourg, sufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their side they engaged to pay an annual homage of 16,500 livres, (about 722*l.*) which is paid to this day.

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable for opening a large trade. The Portuguese, who groaned under the oppression of a foreign yoke, struggled but faintly to preserve their possessions. The Spaniards sent no ships but to the Molucca and Philippine islands. The Dutch thought of nothing but engrossing the spice trade. The English felt the effects of the disturbances of their country, even in the Indies. All these powers could not see this new rival without regret. but none opposed it.

THENCE it happened that the Danes, who set out with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres, (about 37,330*l.*)

37,330*l.*) carried on a pretty considerable trade in all parts of the Indies. Unhappily the Dutch company acquired such a superiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had dealt to the best advantage; and what was still more unfortunate, the dissensions that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother country to attend to such remote concerns as those of this colony. The Danes of Tranquebar insensibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with rival nations, whose competition they could not sustain. They were discouraged by this inferiority, and the company gave up their charter, and made over their settlements to the government, as an indemnification for the sums they had advanced. . . .

BOOK  
I.

A new society was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Christiern V. made them a present, in ships and other effects, valued at 310,828 livres, 10 sous, (13,598*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*  $\frac{1}{4}$ .) and the adventurers advanced 732,600 livres, (32,051*l.* 5*s.*) This second undertaking, which was entered upon without a sufficient fund, proved still more unfortunate than the first. After a few voyages, the factory of Tranquebar was left to shift for itself. All they had to subsist the inhabitants, and their small garrison, was their little territory and two vessels that they freighted for the merchants of that country. Even these resources failed them sometimes; and to save themselves from starving, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four bastions that constituted their fortress. They were hardly in a condition to fit out a ship for Europe once in three years, with a very moderate cargo.

Changes  
the Danish  
trade has  
undergone  
in India.

PITY seemed to be the only sentiment that for desperate a situation could inspire. Yet jealousy which never sleeps, and avarice which is alarmed at every trifle, stirred up an odious war against the Danes. The

## BOOK

## I.

Raja of Tanjour, who had several times cut off their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the instigation of the Dutch. That prince was on the point of taking the place, after a six months siege, when it was succoured and saved by the English. This event neither was, nor could be attended with any important consequences. The Danish company continued in a languid state. It drooped every day more and more, and at last expired in 1730.

FROM its ashes sprang up another two years after, which still subsists. The favours that were heaped upon them, to enable them to trade with oeconomy and freedom, plainly shew of what importance this commerce appeared to their government. Their charter is settled for forty years. Whatever belongs to the armament and equipping of their ships, is exempted from all duties. The workmen they employ, whether natives or foreigners, are not tied down to the regulations of a company, which are a restraint upon industry in Denmark, as well as in other countries in Europe. They are dispensed from using stamp paper in their business. They have an absolute jurisdiction over the persons they employ; and the sentences passed by the directors are not liable to be reversed, unless the punishment is capital. To remove even the shadow of constraint, the sovereign has renounced the right he ought to have of interfering in the administration, as being chief proprietor. He has no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and has only reserved a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He has even bound himself to ratify all political conventions they might think proper to make with the Asiatic powers.

IN return for so many indulgences, government has only required one per cent. upon all merchandise of India and China which should be sent abroad, and two

and

and a half per cent. upon all that should be consumed at home. BOOK  
I.

THE grant, containing the above conditions, was no sooner made out, than adventurers were sought for. To engage them the more easily, they distinguished two different kinds of stock. The one was called *fixed*, and was appropriated to the acquisition of all the effects which the old company had in Europe and Asia. They called the other *variable*, because every year it was regulated by the number, the lading and the expence of the ships they think proper to send abroad. Every proprietor may chuse whether he will or will not be concerned in these armaments, which are liquidated at the close of every voyage. If any one should decline being concerned, which has never yet been the case, the venture would be offered to another. By this arrangement, the company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* stock.

It seemed a difficult matter to state the share of expence, that each of these funds was to bear. Every thing was settled with more ease than was expected. It was agreed that the *variable* should pay nothing but the necessary expences for the purchase, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ships. All besides was the business of the *fixed* stock, which, by way of compensation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which should be sold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that should be sent out from Tranquebar. This continual additional to the *fixed* stock has so increased the capital, that instead of four hundred shares at 1125 livres, (49*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* halfp.) which was the original stock of the company, it now consists of sixteen hundred shares at 1687*l.* 10*s.* (73*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* halfp.) It was settled at this number in 1755, and ever since, the duties which went to the increase of the *fixed* stock, have been

## BOOK

## I.

been applied to the increasing of the dividend, which till then had been taken upon the profits of the *variable* stock.

EVERY proprietor, though but a single share, has a vote at the general meetings. A proprietor of three shares has two votes; a proprietor of five has three votes, and so on in the same proportion to twenty shares, which entitles the owner to twelve votes, but there the matter ends.

SOME alteration has been made in these regulations in 1772, when the charter was renewed for twenty years. It has been stipulated that no one member of the company shall at any time have more than three votes, and that none shall be allowed to give his vote in writing or by proxy.

State of  
the Danish  
trade, in  
the Indies.

DENMARK trades to the same parts of Asia as other European nations. The pepper they fetch from Malabar does not exceed sixty thousand weight a year upon an average.

ONE would be apt to think from every circumstance that their trade must be brisk on the coast of Coromandel. They are in possession of an excellent territory; though it is but two leagues in circumference, the population amounts to thirty thousand souls. About ten thousand live in the town of Tranquebar. There are twelve thousand in a large village, where they work at ordinary manufactures. The rest are usefully employed in some lesser villages. Three hundred Danes, fifty of whom compose the garrison, are the only Europeans in the colony. The maintenance costs but 96000 livres (4,200*l.*) a year, which is the income of the possession, or thereabouts.

THE company give but little employment to their factors. They only send them two ships once in three years; and those ships carry in all but 1800 bales of ordinary cotton, which do not cost above 1,500,000 livres.

livres. (65,625*l*.) The factors themselves do not know how to improve the leisure they enjoy, to advance their own private fortune. They can think of no other way than lending the small capital they have at their disposal to Indian merchants at a high interest. And indeed Tranquebar, though an antient settlement, has not that appearance of life and opulence which is observable in more modern colonies, which have been managed with spirit and skill. The French, driven out of their own settlements, had somewhat enlivened Tranquebar, but when they left it, the colony fell again into the same languid state as before. Yet the situation of the Danes in Coromandel, is not so bad as at Bengal.

BOOK  
I.

Soon after their arrival in Asia, they displayed their flag on the Ganges. Their ill success soon obliged them to quit it, and they never appeared there again till 1755. Commercial jealousy, which is become the ruling passion of our age, has frustrated their views upon Bankibasar, and they have been reduced to fix in the neighbourhood of that place. The French, who alone had supported the new factory, found a refuge there, in the calamities of the last war, and all the assistance of friendship and gratitude. Few ships come thither directly from Europe. Since 1757 there have been but two; both their cargoes together had cost but 2,160,000 livres (94,500*l*.) at home.

The trade to China being less tedious, and less liable to meet with obstacles, the Danish company has pursued it more warmly than either that to the Ganges or to Coromandel, which required a previous stock. They send a large ship every year, and oftener two. The teas, which were their chief return, were mostly consumed in England. The acquisition that kingdom has made of the Isle of Man, which was the staple for that

contra-



B O O K

I.

contraband trade, by depriving the Danes of that market, must necessarily lessen their dealings with China.

THE annual sales of the company now amount to 6,500,000 livres. (284,375*l*.) It is not likely they should be carried much higher. We know their armaments are easily made and at a trifling expence. Their sailors, though not so bold as those of some other nations, have prudence and experience. The iron they send to the Indies is found in the mines of Norway. Government pays them a very good price for the saltpetre they oblige them to bring home. The national manufactures are neither so numerous nor so much favoured as to be any hindrance to their sales. They can easily dispose of their goods all over the North, and in some part of Germany. They have good laws, and their whole conduct deserves the highest encomiums. There is not perhaps any administration to compare to that of this company for honesty and oeconomy.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, the Danish company will always be drooping. The consumption of their commodities will never be very great, in a region which nature has doomed to poverty, and which industry itself cannot enrich. The mother country is neither populous, nor powerful enough to afford them the means of extending their commerce. Their capital is small, and will always remain so. Foreigners will not trust their money in the hands of a body which is under the controul of arbitrary power in an absolute monarchy. With an administration that would do honour to the best constituted republic, they must suffer all the hardships of slavery. A despotic government, with the best intentions in the world, can never be powerful enough to do good. It begins by taking from the subjects that free exercise of their will which is the very soul and spring of nations ; and when

when it has broke this spring, it can never restore it again. It is mutual confidence that binds men together, unites their interests, and makes business go on. Whereas, arbitrary power absolutely excludes all confidence, because it absolutely excludes all safety.

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THE project formed in 1728, of removing the seat of the company from Copenhagen to Altena, could not remedy these inconveniences. Indeed the ships would have been sent off more easily, and would not have been exposed to the danger of missing their voyage, by being frost bound, as they are sometimes in the sound; but we cannot agree with the authors of the scheme, that the vicinity would have induced the Hamburgers to place their capitals on an adventure which they always dislike. So that we may boldly affirm that England and Holland were guilty of a needless act of tyranny, when they opposed this domestic plan of a free and independent power. Their uneasiness about Ostend was better grounded.

THAT knowledge of trade and administration, and that sound philosophy, which insensibly gained ground all over Europe, met with invincible obstacles in some monarchies. They could not penetrate to the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war, and aggrandizement by conquests. The English and Dutch, whose attention was engaged in preventing France from increasing her commerce, her colonies and her navy, stirred up enemies against her on the continent, and lavished immense sums upon the house of Austria, which were employed against France: but at the peace, the luxury of one crown restored more riches to the other, than it had taken from it by the war.

Establishment of an  
Indiacompany at  
Ostend.

AUSTRIAN power which ought to be formidable, from the extent of its dominions, is confined by reason of its situation; for most of its provinces are distant from  
the

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the sea. Its lands produce but little wine, and few things that other nations are choice of. It affords neither oil, silk, nor fine wool. It had no pretensions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the usual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to industry and manufactures, which might have supplied the means of indulging that expensive taste. The contempt in which it has always held the sciences, stopped its progress in every thing. Artists will never be eminent in any country where they are not aided by men of learning. Sciences and arts must both droop, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant spirit of the house of Austria, kept her vast domains poor, superstitious, and fond of a barbarous kind of luxury.

EVEN the low countries, formerly so famous for their activity and industry, retained nothing of their ancient splendor. Not a single ship was to be seen in the harbour of Antwerp; it was no longer the storehouse of the north, as it had been for two centuries past. Brussels and Louvain, far from supplying other nations with their clothing, bought their own of the English. That precious article, the herring fishery, had passed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and some other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decrease daily. Those provinces, placed between the three most enlightened and most trading nations in Europe, had not been able, notwithstanding their natural advantages, to bear up against such a competition. After striving some time against oppression, against impediments, multiplied by ignorance, and against the privileges which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

PRINCE Eugene, as great a statesman as a warrior, with a mind superior to every prejudice, had been long in search of the means of enriching a power whose boundaries he had so greatly enlarged; when a proposal

was

was made to him, of establishing an India company at **BOOK**  
**Ostend.** The first contrivers of this scheme had very extensive views. They pretended that if it could be brought to bear, it would excite industry throughout the Austrian dominions, would give them a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieste, would deliver that power from the dependence she was still in on the subsidies of England and Holland, and make her formidable to the coasts of Turkey, and to the very city of Constantinople.

THE able minister to whom this was addressed, was very sensible of the value of such overtures, however he would not be too hasty. To accustom his own court and all Europe to this novelty, he chose to send out two ships to India in 1717, with none but his own passports. Their voyage was so successful, that more were sent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the court of Vienna thought it was time to secure the property of the adventurers, who were for the most part English and Dutch, by the fullest charter that ever was granted.

THE new company, who had a capital of twenty millions, divided into ten thousand shares, appeared with great lustre in all the markets in India. They made two settlements, that of Coblom, between Madras and Sadraspatnam on the coast of Coromandel, and that of Bankibasar on the Ganges. They even intended to procure a place to put in at for refreshments, and had cast their eye upon Madagascar for that purpose. They were so happy in the choice of their agents, that they could rely upon them for the care of their concerns, as they had shewn resolution enough to surmount every obstacle that jealousy had thrown in their way, and skill enough to extricate themselves from all the snares that had been laid for them. The richness of their returns, and the reputation of their stock, which brought in fifteen

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the de-  
struction of  
the com-  
pany at  
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teen per cent. still increased their confidence. It is not to be supposed they would have been disappointed of their expectations, had not their operations been thwarted by political interests. To give a clear idea of the reasons of this policy, we must take up the matter farther back.

WHEN Isabella had sent to discover America, and to penetrate as far as the Philippine islands, Europe was so plunged in ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit the navigation to the East and West Indies, to all subjects of Spain who were not natives of Castile. That part of the low countries which had not recovered its liberty, having been given in 1598 to the Infanta Isabella, on her marriage with the archduke Albert, the new sovereigns were required to make a formal renunciation of this trade. When these provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, that circumstance made no alteration in this odious stipulation. The Flemings, justly offended at being abridged of the right which nature gives to all people, of trading wherever other nations are not lawfully entitled to an exclusive privilege, complained loudly of this imposition. They were seconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who obtained a decision, that they should be allowed to trade to the East Indies. The act for this purpose was not yet issued, when Portugal shook off the yoke under which it had so long been oppressed. The fear of increasing the discontent of the Portuguese, whom they hoped to bring back, prevented the Spaniards from giving them a new rival in Asia, and protracted the conclusion of this important affair. It was not at an end, when it was settled at Munster in 1648, that the subjects of the king of Spain should never extend their trade in the Indies, more than it was at that period. This act ought not to have been less binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid, since he possesses the low countries on the same terms, and with

with the same obligations they were subject to, when under the dominion of Spain. BOOK  
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*Thus reasoned Holland and England, to compass the suppression of the new company, whose success gave them great uneasiness. Those two allies, who by their maritime forces could have annihilated Ostend and its trade, did not chuse to quarrel with a power which they themselves had raised, and which they thought they stood in need of against the house of Bourbon. So that though they were determined not to suffer the house of Austria to dip into the fountain of their riches, they contented themselves with making remonstrances on the violation of the most solemn engagements. They were seconded by France, which had the same concern in the affair, and moreover was guarantee of the violated treaty.*

*THE emperor paid no regard to these representations. He was supported in his undertaking by the obstinacy of his own disposition, by the ambitious prospects that had been suggested to him, and by the great privileges, and indulgences, granted by Spain to the merchants residing in his dominions. That crown was then in hopes of obtaining the heiress of the house of Austria for Don Carlos, and thought no concessions too great for such an alliance. The union of those two courts, which had always been considered as irreconcilable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itself in danger. Numberless leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to break that harmony, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All was to no purpose, till the council of Madrid, having no more treasures to lavish upon Germany, were convinced that they were pursuing a phantom. Austria was not dismayed at the defection of her ally, and seemed determined to assert her claims, and especially her commercial interests. Whether the maritime powers were intimidated by this steadiness, or whether, as was more probably the*

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case, they only consulted the dictates of sound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic sanction in 1727. The court of Vienna paid this important service, by sacrificing the Ostend company.

THOUGH the public acts mention only a suspension for seven years, the proprietors plainly saw that their ruin was determined, and that this stipulation was only inserted as a salvo to the imperial dignity. They had too good an opinion of the court of London and the states general; to suppose they would have secured the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions for a meer momentary advantage. This persuasion determined them to think no more of Ostend, and to dispose of their stock some other way. They tried successively to settle at Hamburgh, at Trieste and in Tuscany, but all their endeavours proved abortive. Those succeeded best who made choice of Sweden.

General  
sketch of  
the ancient  
Govern-  
ment of  
Sweden.

SWEDEN, whose inhabitants, known by the name of Goths, had contributed to the subversion of the Roman empire, after rushing like a torrent, shrank back into its own desarts, and sank into its former obscurity. Their domestic contests, as sharp as they were constant, left them no time to think of foreign wars, or to unite their interests with those of other nations. They had unfortunately the worst of all constitutions, that in which authority is so divided, as that neither of the several powers knows exactly what degree falls to its share. The claims of the king, the clergy, the nobility, the cities and the peasants, make such a confusion, as would a thousand times have proved the ruin of the kingdom, if their neighbours had not laboured under the same grievances. Gustavus Vasa put an end to that anarchy, by uniting the greater part of those powers in his own person; but he plunged the state into another calamity, full as fatal as the former.

THAT

THAT nation, which seemed to be designed by nature **BOOK**  
 for navigation, as it is possessed of extensive sea coasts, **I.**  
 excellent harbours, timber for ship building, iron and  
 copper mines, and all the other materials requisite for a  
 navy, had given it up when they grew weary of piracy.  
 The people of Lubeck fetched away what they had to  
 spare, and brought them salt, stuffs, and whatever they  
 wanted from abroad. No ships were seen in their roads  
 but the vessels of that republic, or any warehouses in  
 their towns but what belonged to them,

THE haughty soul of Gustavus could not brook this  
 dependence. He was determined to break the bands that  
 cramped the industry of his subjects, but he set about it  
 too hastily. He shut his harbours against the people of  
 Lubeck, before he had built any ships or trained up any  
 merchants. This put an end at once to all intercourse  
 between his subjects and other nations; and such a total  
 stagnation of business proved fatal to agriculture, that  
 first of arts in all countries, and the only one then known  
 in Sweden. The fields lay fallow, when once the hus-  
 bandman had not those incessant and repeated demands,  
 which till then had been a spur to his industry. Some  
*English* and Dutch ships, which arrived there now and  
 then, had not yet roused the old emulation, when Gus-  
 tavus Adolphus ascended the throne.

He signalized the first years of his reign by making  
 useful alterations. Rural labours were revived; the  
 works went on better in the mines; companies were set  
 on foot to trade to Persia and the East Indies; the foun-  
 dations of a new colony were laid on the coast of North  
 America; the Swedish flag was seen in all the seas of  
 Europe, carrying copper, iron, wood, tallow, tar, hides,  
 butter, corn, fish and furs; and bringing home wine,  
 brandy, salt, spice and all sorts of stuffs.

THIS prosperity was but momentary. The wars of  
 the great Gustavus in Germany, soon checked the grow-



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ing industry of the Swedes. His successors endeavoured to quicken it, but it was again destroyed by fresh wars, which lasted till the death of Charles XII. During that long period, the kings aimed at nothing but arbitrary power, and the genius of the nation was wholly turned to arms.

THE Swedes did not apply themselves to useful pursuits, till they had lost all their conquests, and till the elevation of Russia left them no hopes of new ones. The states of the kingdom having abolished despotism, corrected the abuses of so faulty an administration. The rapid transition from a state of slavery to the fullest liberty, did not however occasion those violent concussions, which commonly attend such revolutions. All the alterations were made upon mature deliberation. The first attention was paid to the most necessary professions, which till then had been unnoticed, or despised. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were soon introduced. Several masterly performances were published, treating of the deepest sciences, and worthy to be adopted by the most enlightened nations. Such of the citizens as had quitted their long ruined country, returned home with the talents they had acquired. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where any thing was to be learnt. Order, political oeconomy, and the several branches of administration, became the general topic of conversation. Whatever concerned the republic, was maturely discussed in the general assemblies, and freely approved or censured in the public writings. Informations were called in from all quarters. Foreigners who brought any invention, or any useful knowledge, were kindly received; and it was at that favourable juncture that the agents of the Ostend company made their appearance.

The Swedes cultivate the India trade. Basis on which it is founded.

A rich merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Koning, approved of their schemes, and procured the approbation

probation of the diet in 1731. An India company was established with the exclusive privilege of trading beyond the cape of Good Hope. The Charter was only for fifteen years. It was not thought expedient to grant it for a longer time, both to have an early opportunity of rectifying any imperfections incident to new undertakings, and to quiet the minds of many citizens, who were averse to an undertaking which they thought improper for men accustomed to their climate. In order, as much as possible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with those of a privileged association, it was agreed that the stock should be unlimited, and that each proprietor should be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As most of the adventurers were foreigners, it was thought but justice to secure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government 2250 livres (98*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*), upon the cargo of every ship.

NOTWITHSTANDING this duty, which nearly confined their trade to China, the proprietors divided much greater profits than any other company ever did. This success determined the states, when they renewed the charter in 1746, to demand 75,000 livres (3,281*l.* 5*s.*) per ship, in lieu of the old duty. These terms were punctually complied with till 1753: then the directors, who felt the sweets of their situation, projected to make it permanent, by giving a firm consistency to the transient association that had intrusted them with the management of their affairs; and they contrived to have their scheme adopted by the assembled nation. It was not to be expected that the proprietors would so readily assent to a system that abridged them of their liberty, and was the more to be dreaded, as it had proved fatal to other companies. They were however allured by the prospect of a more regular income, instead of a dividend which had for some years varied to an incredible de-

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gree; which was either so contrived on purpose to make the project go down the better, or was a natural consequence of the fluctuation of trade. They were finally determined by the indulgence the government shewed them, in taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon tea, and all other India goods which should be consumed within the kingdom, instead of the 75,000 livres (3,281*l.* 5*s.*) which had been paid for six years upon every ship. This new regulation lasted till 1766, which was the time of the expiration of the charter granted twenty years before.

THEY had not put off till that period taking measures for the renewal of the company. As early as the 7th of July 1762, a new charter was granted for twenty years longer. The conditions were more advantageous to the state, than was expected by those who had not attended to the profits of that trade. The company lent the government 1,500,000 livres (65,625*l.*) without interest, and 3,000,000 (131,250*l.*) at six per cent. The proprietors who advanced this money, were to be repaid gradually out of the drawback of 112,500 livres (4,921*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*), which they engaged to pay for every ship they should send out. A duty of one fourth of the produce was laid on all such of their commodities as should be exported out of the kingdom; and such as were consumed at home were to pay the old duties, or such new ones as government should think proper to lay on them. This is the regulation that subsists ever since 1766.

THE company have fixed the center of their business at Gottenburgh, which is by far the most convenient port for their purpose. At first their stock varied from one voyage to another. It is generally believed that in 1753, it was fixed at nine millions (393,750*l.*), though but six (262,500*l.*) were laid down. Those who are  
best

best informed, are of opinion that the last regulation **BOOK**  
 has really brought in ten millions (437,500*l.*); but we **I.**  
 know nothing on this important point, except from  
*conjecture*, for it never was laid before the public.  
 As the Swedes were very little concerned in this stock,  
 it was judged best to conceal the poverty of it, and to  
 that end it was enacted, that any director who should  
 divulge the names of the proprietors, or the sums they  
 had subscribed, should be suspended, or even deposed,  
 and irretrievably forfeit all the stock he was possessed  
 of. This mysterious conduct is still observed. In-  
 deed the accounts of the directory are regularly laid be-  
 fore twelve of the chief proprietors, who are chosen  
 once in four years at a general meeting; but mer-  
 cantile people will never consider this as a sufficient se-  
 curity; and will always think it strange, that a free  
 state should have opened such a door for corruption. Se-  
 crecy, in politics, is like lying; it saves a state for a  
 while, and is the undoing of it in the end. Neither is  
 of any use but to wicked men.

THOUGH the company met with some mischances,  
 the dividend kept up to thirty two per cent. upon an  
 average. This whole profit was made upon sales that  
 did not exceed six millions of livres (262,500*l.*) yearly.  
 Eleven twelfths of those goods have been exported, and  
 what little the Swedes have consumed, they have paid  
 for with their own commodities. The scarcity of cash,  
 and the few resources they had, would not admit of  
 greater luxury, as will appear if we consider the follow-  
 ing particulars.

THE extent of Sweden is 6900 leagues square, allow- Present  
 ing, as they do in that country, but ten and a half to a state of  
 degree. A great part of it is covered with immense Sweden.  
 lakes. The soil, which is most commonly greasy clay,  
 is harder to till than sandy ground, but it bears more.

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The prodigious snows that cover it, shelter and cherish the plants. Unfortunately the winters are so long, and the days so short, that there is but little time for the labours of the field. Besides, as the men are taller and stouter than in other countries, they require more substantial food, and in larger quantities.

FROM these reasons we should be apt to suspect that the population never was very great in Sweden, though it has been called the *manufactory of human kind*. Probably the numerous bands who poured out, and who, under the so much dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and subdued so many regions of Europe, were no other than swarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a constant succession by the north of Asia. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that, that vast country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. Some historical proofs which were laid before the states at their last meeting, convinced them that three hundred years ago, their country had more inhabitants than it has at present, though at that time they professed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monastic life, and the celibacy of the clergy. It appears from a very accurate account taken in 1760, by order of the government, that Sweden exclusive of her German dominions which are but trifling, has actually but 2,383,113 subjects; and that in this population, there are 1,127,938 men, and 1,255,175 women. By taking the mean term, this makes 345 inhabitants to a league square. The two extremes are Gothia which has 1248, and Lapland which has but two inhabitants to a league.


THE numbers would be greater in all the provinces, if they were not continually deserted by the natives and frequently for ever. There are men in all countries, who either out of curiosity, or from a natural restlessness, and without any determinate object, love to rove about; but this is only the malady of a few individuals,

viduals, and cannot be deemed the standing cause of a constant emigration. There is a natural propensity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondness for society, the ties of blood and of friendship, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are so apt to contract for the place, the manners and the way of life we are accustomed to, all these are, to a rational being, so many attachments to the land in which he was born, and educated. They must be powerful motives that can determine him to break all these ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will be strange and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power resides in the states, which are composed of the several orders of the kingdom, even that of peasants, every one should be the more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there must be some cause for them.

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THE class which of all others are most attached to their country, are the husbandmen. Agriculture was tolerably flourishing, till Gustavus Vasa prohibited the exportation of corn. Ever since that fatal edict, it has constantly degenerated, and the endeavours used of late years to restore it, have not altogether had the desired effect. Government buys every year part of the corn that is wanted for home consumption; and this scarcity may last long, as it is very difficult to breed large quantities of cattle. They must be fed dry for nine months in the year, and hands are wanting to cut up and to house that quantity of fodder, which the long winters require.

THE mines are not liable to the like inconveniences. They were long the chief support of the kingdom, but are since grown dependent on the English and Dutch, who have lent large sums to carry on the works. A better

**B O O K** better management has gradually freed them from this  
 I.  bondage. The silver mines annually bring in 4500 marks to the state; the copper mines yield 8000 ingots; of which 5500 are exported; the iron mines yield 400,000 ingots, of which they export about 300,000. These last were easily multiplied, especially in the northern provinces, which abound with wood and water for the works, and where the long and severe winters are favourable to the transport. The states held in 1765 forbade the opening of any more, though no reason of political oeconomy can be assigned for such a prohibition. We may presume to suspect, that it took its rise from the private and personal interest of some leading men in the diet. The manufactures have not fared better than the mines.

TILL the happy revolution which restored the liberty of Sweden, the nation in general were clothed in foreign stuffs. At that memorable period, they were sensible how impossible it was to rectify this evil with their own wool, which was extremely coarse; so they sent for ewes and rams from Spain and England, and by the precautions that have been taken, they have not much degenerated. As the flocks multiplied, the manufactures increased to that degree, that in 1763, they employed 45,000 hands. This progress has displeased some patriots, who thought it prejudicial to agriculture. In vain were they told, that the manufactures promoted the consumption of the productions of the land; that they multiplied cattle, and that the cattle fertilized the ground; that there were in the kingdom but eight or ten towns, at most, that deserved to be called so, and that their population, relative to that of the country, was but as one to twelve, which was not the case in any other country. These representations had no effect. The diet of 1765, from party spirit or ignorance, adopted

adopted the views of those who were for sending every body back to the plough. To bring this about, they have shackled industry with all the fetters they could devise. The consequence has been, that the artificers are gone to seek for employment abroad, especially in Russia, and that now Sweden has no manufactures.

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THEIR fisheries have not met with the same fate. The only one that deserves to be considered in a political view, is the herring fishery. It only began in 1740. Before that time, the herrings did not frequent the coasts of Sweden. They then came in shoals to the coast of Gottenburg, and have never forsaken it since. They annually export 200,000 barrels, which at the rate of 20 livres (17s. 6d.) per barrel, amount to 4,000,000 of livres. (175,000*l*.) About 8000 barrels are sent over to the English islands in America. It is very surprising that the French, who have more slaves, and are more at a loss to feed them, should never have encouraged the importation of so desirable an article.

THE Swedish nation was not yet possessed of the herring fishery, when they prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, and the conveying their own from one harbour of the kingdom to another in foreign bottoms. That famous edict, restored navigation, which had long since been destroyed by the calamities of war. Their flag which was unknown every where, was now to be seen on all seas. Their seamen soon acquired skill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progress was growing too considerable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be best to keep to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of such foreign commodities as they wanted, and have nothing to do with mere freight. This system was warmly opposed. Some eminent statesmen were of opinion that, far from cramping this branch



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branch of industry, it ought to be encouraged, by abolishing every regulation that might tend to obstruct it. The exclusive right of passing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, distinguished by the name of *Staple*. All the parts situate to the north of Stockholm or Abo, were obliged to send their commodities to one of these staples, and there to take in those of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at first hand. Those odious distinctions, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, still subsist to this day. The wisest speculators in matters of administration wished to see them abolished; that a more general competition might produce greater industry. But whatever may be the wishes of the nation with regard to trade, no person is desirous of having the army augmented.

BEFORE the reign of Gustavus Vasa, every Swede was a soldier. Upon any emergency of the state, the husbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war, by their incessant civil broils. Government had but five hundred men in pay, who were always to hold themselves in readiness to march. In 1542, this small corps was increased to six thousand. The peasants, upon whom these troops were quartered, found the burden intolerable, and it was necessary to ease them of it. For this purpose, the uncultivated lands were incorporated with the crown lands, and when they were cleared, these new defenders of their country were placed on them. This excellent institution has been continued ever since. Military men are not shut up in garrisons, to lead a life of idleness, as they are in other countries. From the general to the common soldier, every one has a house which he lives in, and a spot of ground of his own, which he improves. The extent and value of this land, is proportionable to his

his rank in the army: This possession, which they hold from the crown; is called *Bastell*, and is never granted but in the domains belonging to government. The army now consists of eight regiments of horse, three regiments of dragoons, two regiments of hussars, and twenty one regiments of national infantry that are paid in the above manner, and ten regiments of foreign troops, who are paid in money, and disposed of in the provinces, and in the fortresses beyond the seas: all these forces together amount to 50,000 men. This army is increased to 84,000 men, by the addition of 34,000 soldiers, who are kept in reserve, and have likewise their *Bastells*, and by their institution are destined to supply the place of those who die among the national infantry, are lost or taken prisoners. Twenty ships of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, and a few galleys, complete the forces of the republic.

To make these forces act, the state has only a revenue of eighteen millions of livres, (787,500*l.*) which arises from a land tax, the returns of the customs, duties upon copper, iron, and stamped paper, a poll-tax, and a free gift. This is very little for the expences of war, and the necessities of government; and yet it must also answer for the payment of debts.

THESE debts amounted to 7,500,000 livres, (328,125*l.*) when Charles XI. came to the crown. That prince, who was an oeconomist, in a manner becoming a sovereign, paid them off. He went still farther, and redeemed several of the domains conquered in Germany, which had been alienated to powerful neighbours. He likewise redeemed the crown jewels, upon which considerable sums had been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, succoured his allies, and often fitted squadrons to maintain his superiority on the Baltic. The events subsequent to his death

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death once more plunged the nation into its former confusion, which has continued increasing ever since, so that the government was in debt 82,500,000 livres, (3,609,375*l.*) for which the paid four and half per cent. interest. Of this capital, eight millions (350,000*l.*) are the property of foreigners, five millions (218,750*l.*) belong to a sinking fund, established to pay off the debts contracted by Charles XII, a million and a half (65,625*l.*) to some communities, twelve millions and a half (546,875*l.*) to private persons in Sweden, and fifty-five millions (2,406,250*l.*) to the bank. The best calculators pretend that this bank, which belongs solely to the state, and is only to be at their disposal by the nation in a general assembly, has got as much by lending its paper to private persons, upon moveable and immoveable effects, as administration owes it. In that case, the republic in fact owes but one third of the debt, for which it pays interest, for the sake of supporting public credit.

THIS credit is more necessary, as there does not, since the last German war, remain two millions (87,500*l.*) of specie in circulation all over the kingdom. Every thing is carried on by paper. As those who are intrusted with the management of the paper credit, are sworn to keep every thing relative to it, a profound secret, the quantity cannot be exactly ascertained; but from the informations of the nicest observers, we may venture to affirm that the sum total of bank notes amounts to no less than seventy-seven millions. (3,368,750*l.*)

POVERTY was not the greatest evil under which Sweden laboured; she was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. Private interest, which had taken place of public spirit, filled the court, the senate, and all orders of the republic with distrust. All bodies of men were bent upon each other's destruction with unparalleled

paralleled inveteracy. When the means were wanting at home, they were sought for from abroad, and a man was not ashamed to conspire in some measure, with foreigners against his own country.

BOOK  
I.

THE unhappy situation of a seemingly free state, kept up that slavish disposition, which degrades most of the European nations; they gloried in their chains; when they beheld the sufferings of a people who had shaken off their's. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another; that to avoid the mischiefs of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confusions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with those of society, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common safety of its members.

In that fatal crisis, it was expedient for the Swedes to intrust the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power sufficient to inquire into the abuses of the state, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greatest act of sovereignty a people can exercise; and it is not losing their liberty to commit it to the custody of a guardian in whom they can confide, whilst they watch over the use he makes of the power delegated to him.

SUCH resolution would have raised the Swedes to the highest pitch of glory and happiness, and given the world a high opinion of their understanding and wisdom; whereas by declining so necessary a measure, they have compelled the sovereign to seize upon the supreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms, and his subjects have no other rights left, but what his moderation would not suffer him to strip them of.

THIS event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it; posterity must be left to judge of it. Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the King of Prussia.

THIS

BOOK  
I.

The king  
of Prussia  
forms an  
East India  
company  
at Emb-  
den. Cha-  
racter of  
that prince.  
Fate of his  
establish-  
ment.

THIS prince, in his younger years, wisely preferred the advantage of treasuring up knowledge, to the usual pleasures of his age, and the luxurious idleness of courts. An intercourse with the greatest men of his time, joined to his spirit of observation, insensibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active, and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor opposition could ever interrupt his deep reflections. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign, in the earlier part of his life. It was foretold on his accession to the crown, that his ministers would be no more than his secretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some lucky circumstances afforded him an opportunity of displaying to the whole world, the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickness peculiar to himself, Frederick discovering at once, and pursuing his real interests, attacked a power by which his ancestors had been held in slavery. He obtained a victory in five engagements against that power, deprived it of its best provinces, and concluded a peace with the same wisdom that he had begun the war.

THOUGH his combats were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aspired to gain the admiration of those very people, whom he had struck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional lustre to his name. He reformed the abuses in the courts of judicature, and dictated himself the wisest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of the administration. As he was convinced that the authority of a sovereign, is a common benefit to all his subjects, a protection which they are all equally entitled to, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person, and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His writings

writings on history, morality and politics abounded **B O O K**  
 with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when some fortunate event put him in possession of East Friesland in the year 1744. **I.**

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, and in vain, to appropriate it to themselves, till it excited their jealousy to such a pitch, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the staple of a great trade. The distance of this little country from the bulk of the Prussian forces, might be attended with some inconveniences, but Frederick was in hopes that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuasion, he established an East India company at Embden in 1750.

THE capital of this new society was 3,900,000 livres, (170,625*l.*) chiefly subscribed by the English and Dutch, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, by paying three per cent. to the sovereign upon every sale they should make. The event did not answer their expectation; six ships sent successively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of ten per cent. in seven years. Another company, formed soon after in the same place for Bengal, was still more unsuccessful. They never attempted but two expeditions, and all they have for it, is a law suit, which probably will be an

B O O K I. endless one. At the breaking out of the last war, both these companies were annihilated.

THIS has been the only check the king of Prussia's greatness has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of contemporaries: because they are not at a sufficient distance. Princes are of all men, those we can least hope to be acquainted with. Fame seldom speaks of them dispassionately. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of servile flattery, or unjust envy. The buzz of the many interests and opinions that are moving and shifting around them, confounds or suspends the judgment of the wisest men.

YET if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we should say of Frederick, that he was able to extricate himself from the plots of all Europe combined against him; that to the greatness and boldness of his enterprizes, he joined the most impenetrable secrecy in the execution of them; that he brought on a total change in the art of war, which before his time, was thought to have attained its highest degree of perfection; that he shewed a fortitude scarcely to be paralleled in history; that he turned his very mistakes to better advantage, than others do their success; that he struck all the world dumb with astonishment, or made every tongue break out in admiration, and reflected as much lustre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their sovereign.

THIS prince always appears formidable. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of seventy millions; (3,062,500*l*.) a treasure of more than two hundred; (8,750,000*l*.) an army of a hundred and fourscore thousand men: all this must secure his tranquillity. Unfortunately it is not so beneficial to his subjects

je&s as it was formerly. He still leaves the manage-  
ment of the coin to the Jews, who have thrown it into  
the greatest confusion. He has done nothing for the  
relief of the richest merchants in his dominions, who  
have been ruined by his operations. He has taken the  
most considerable manufactures into his own hands.  
His dominions are full of monopolies, which are the  
bane of all industry. His people, who idolized him,  
have been given up to a set of foreign plunderers. This  
conduct has occasioned such distrust, both at home and  
abroad, that we may venture to affirm, that all endeavours  
to restore the Embden company will prove ineffectual.  
Happy would it have been for his subjects  
and for all Europe, had this martial prince deserved the  
appellation of a patriot king, and suffered those numberless  
heaps which lie rusting in his coffers to circulate  
in the nation, and invigorate the body politic.

BOOK  
I.

LET us next take a survey of the trade to the Philippine islands, so often attempted by Spain, and with so little success. The Philippines, formerly known by the name of Manillas, form an immense Archipelago to the east of Asia. The mountains in these islands are peopled with savages, who seem to be the oldest inhabitants of the country. There appears to be some analogy between their language and that of Malabar, whence it has been suspected that they might possibly have sprung from that pleasant region of India. They lead quite an animal life, have no settled habitation, and feed upon the fruits and roots they find in the woods; and when they have exhausted one district, they go and devour another. All endeavours to tame them have proved ineffectual, because it is the most difficult thing in the world to subdue a wandering nation.

Settlement  
of the Spaniards  
in the Philippine  
islands

THE plains from whence they have been driven, have been successively inhabited by colonies from Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macassar, Malacca, the Moluccas and



**B O O K** Arabia. The manners, religion, and government of these foreign colonists, evidently distinguish their several origins.

I.

MAGELLAN was the first European who discovered these islands. Upon some discontent he left Portugal, his native country, and entered into the service of the emperor Charles V; and passing the streights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521. He unfortunately died there, but probably this would not have prevented the good consequences of his voyage, had they not been baffled by the following occurrences.

IN the fifteenth century, whilst the Portuguese were engaged in discovering the East Indies, and engrossing the spice trade, and those manufactures which had always been the delight of civilized nations, the Spaniards by the discovery of America, were securing greater treasures than ever the mind of man had thought of coveting. Though both nations were pursuing their respective views of aggrandizement in far distant regions, it was not impossible that they might meet; and their mutual antipathy would have made such an event dangerous. To prevent it, Pope Alexander VI. fixed their respective claims in 1493, in consequence of that universal and ridiculous power, which the pontiffs had assumed for several centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of two superstitious nations still kept up, that they might associate heaven to their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that should be discovered to the west of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the east of that meridian. In process of time, the two powers agreed to remove the line of separation two hundred and fifty leagues farther to the west, as a means of securing their tranquillity. The court of Rome was not sufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth,

earth, to know that as the Spaniards advanced to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, they must meet at last. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth. BOOK  
I.

THE Portuguese, who though seamen themselves had no notion that it was possible to sail to the Indies any other way than by the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly surprized to see the Spaniards come thither by the south sea. They were apprehensive for the Moluccas, upon which the rivals pretended to have a claim, as likewise upon the Manillas. The court of Lisbon was determined at any rate not to part with the spice trade. However, before they ventured to quarrel with the only power, whose naval strength was then formidable, they thought it advisable to try the method of negociation. They succeeded better than they expected. Charles V. who was frequently in want of money to carry on his expeditions, consented, for the sum of 3,420,000 livres, (149,625*l*.) to suspend the armaments against the Moluccas, till the respective claims could be adjusted. He even engaged, in case the decision was favourable, not to make any advantage of it till he had paid the money he had received. After this accommodation, the Spanish monarch was so intent upon his aggrandizement in Europe and America, that he lost sight of the East Indies.

IN 1564, Philip II. resumed the project of conquering the Manillas. The execution was committed to Michael Lopez de l'Egaspe. He gained a solid footing at Luconia, the chief of those islands, and laid the foundation of some colonies in the adjacent islands, particularly in that of Sibu, where Magellan had landed. His successors would probably have finished the conquest of this archipelago, if they had been better supported, or even if they had not been under a necessity of employing the little assistance they had, in de-

## B O O K

## I.

fending the Portuguese in the Moluccas. Dutch patience got the better of those weak, tardy and insincere efforts. They did but protract the loss of those rich possessions, and left the Castilian power over the Manillas, which then began to be called Philippines, in a very languid condition, as it has continued ever since.

Present  
state of the  
Philippine  
islands.

In these islands, the number of Spaniards does not exceed three thousand: there are three times as many Mestees. It is the business of both together to keep in subjection one million three hundred and sixty odd thousand Indians, who have been subdued, as appeared by the account taken in 1752. Most of them are Christians, and all pay a tribute of two livres 13 sous, (2s. 3d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ ). They are dispersed in nine islands, and distributed into twenty departments, twelve of which are in the island of Luconia. The capital, which at all times was called Manilla, is situated at the mouth of a large river, at the bottom of a bay which is thirty leagues in circumference. L'Egasse thought this a fit place to be the center of the state he was about to found, and accordingly made it the seat of government and the center of trade. Gomez Perez de las Manignas inclosed it with walls, and built fort St. James in 1590. As this harbour will admit none but small ships, it was afterwards found expedient to fortify Cavite, which is distant but three leagues, and is now the harbour of Manilla. It is semicircular, and the ships are on all sides sheltered from the south winds, but exposed to the northern blasts, unless they keep very close to the shore. Three or four hundred Indians were formerly employed in the docks, but they have been so much increased within these few years, that men of war are now built there for Europe.

THE

THE colony is under a governor, whose authority lasts eight years, but is subordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, disposes of all civil and military employments, and may give lands to the soldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though somewhat balanced by the influence, which the clergy and the inquisition assume in all the Spanish settlements abroad, has been found so dangerous, that many expedients have been devised to check its exorbitancy. The best of these expedients, is that by which it is decreed that the memory of the governor who dies in office shall be prosecuted, and that when a governor is recalled, he shall not depart till his administration has been inquired into. Every private man is at liberty to complain, and if he has suffered any wrong, he is to be indemnified at the cost of the delinquent, who is likewise condemned to pay a fine to the sovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. When this wise institution was made, it was observed with such severity, that when many and heavy accusations were laid to the charge of the governor, he was imprisoned. Several died under confinement, and others were released only to undergo severe punishments. But corruption has since insinuated itself, and the person who succeeds, is commonly determined by considerable bribes, or on account of the extortions he himself intends to practice, to palliate those of his predecessor.

THIS collusion has brought on a settled system of oppression. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been lost in the hands that were appointed to collect it; extravagant duties have made trade degenerate into smuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and some governors have carried their tyranny to such atrocious lengths, as to limit the

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quantity of corn that the fields were to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it to the treasury, to be paid only at the time and in the manner their oppressive masters should think proper. This tyranny has determined vast numbers of Indians to forsake the Philippines, or to take refuge in the inaccessible parts of those islands. Several millions are said to have perished through ill usage, and it is impossible to guess at the numbers whose very existence has been prevented by the want of culture, and consequently of food. The few who have escaped all these calamities have sought for safety in obscurity and want. The endeavours of some honest governors, within the space of two centuries, to stop the progress of such barbarities, have proved ineffectual, because the abuses were too inveterate to yield to a transient and subordinate authority. Nothing short of the supreme power of the court of Madrid could stem the torrent of universal rapaciousness; but this only method has never been put in practice. This scandalous indifference is the true cause why the Philippines have never been civilized, and have neither subordination nor industry. Their name would scarcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

THOSE connections, which subsist ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards in the East and West Indies, are nothing more than the conveying of the produce and merchandize of Asia to America by the south sea. Not one of the articles that constitute those rich cargoes, are the produce either of the ground or of the manufactures of those islands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chinese bring them silks, and the English or the French supply them with white linen, and printed calicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. All the eastern nations may sail there openly, but the European must conceal their flag. They would not be admitted with-

out

out this precaution, which however is but a vain ceremony. From whatever port the goods are sent, they must be landed before the departure of the galleons. If they should arrive later, they could not be disposed of, or must be sold at a losing price, to merchants who must stow them in warehouses till the next voyage. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piastres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa; but will pass every where on the banks of the Ganges.

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THEY seldom deal directly with the Spaniards. Most of them are so disgusted with the fatigues of trade, that they place all their money in the hands of the Chinese, who enrich themselves at their cost. If, as the court of Madrid had ordered in 1750, these agents, the most active in Asia, had been compelled to be baptized or to quit the country, all business would have been thrown into the utmost confusion.

SOME politicians think this plan would not be detrimental, an opinion that has been long entertained. The Philippines had but just opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the interest of the mother country. Philip II. and his successors constantly rejected that proposal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both these cities imagined, and it is rather surprising that the idea did not occur sooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to be directly concerned in the trade to Asia, and that the possessions they had in those parts should be made the center of their operations. In vain it was urged that as India affords silks and cottons superior to those of Europe, both for workmanship and colouring, and chiefly for cheapness, the national manufactures would be ruined. This objection might have its weight in some nations, but appeared

**B O O K** appeared altogether frivolous in this case, considering the situation of Spain.

**I.**

THE Spaniards indeed use none but foreign stuffs and linen either for wearing apparel or furniture. Those continual demands must necessarily increase the industry, the wealth, the population and the strength of their neighbours, who avail themselves of these advantages, to keep that nation which supplies them in a state of dependence. It would surely be acting with more wisdom and dignity, were they to adopt the Indian manufactures. They would be preferable, both in point of oeconomy and elegance, and would lessen that preponderance which must prove fatal to them in the end.

What the  
Philippines  
might be-  
come in in-  
dustrious  
hands.

THE inconveniences attending new undertakings are readily removed. The islands which Spain possesses are situated between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Macassar and the Moluccas, and are within reach of forming connections with those several states. If they are too far distant from Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, effectually to protect any settlements that might be formed there; on the other hand, they are so near several countries which the Europeans frequent, that they could easily keep off their enemies from them in time of war. Besides, as they are so far from the continent, they have no neighbours to ravage their lands, or to interfere in their concerns. This distance however does not prevent them from being sure of subsistence at home. It is true the Philippines are subject to frequent earthquakes, and they have incessant rains from July to November; but all this is no obstacle to the fertility of the ground. No country in Asia abounds more with fish, corn, fruits, vegetables, cattle, sago, cocoa trees, and esculent plants of all kinds.

THESE islands afford even some articles fit for trade from India to India, such as ebony, tobacco, wax, those bird's nests that are in such request, pitch and tar, a kind

kind of white hemp fit for ropes and sails, plenty of excellent timber; cowries, pearls, and sugar which may be cultivated to any quantity, and lastly gold. There are incontestible proofs that in the earliest times, the Spaniards sent over to America large quantities of gold found by the natives of this country in the rivers. If the quantity they now pick up does not exceed twelve hundred weight in a year, this must be imputed to the tyranny of the Spaniards, who will not suffer them to reap the benefit of their own industry. A reasonable moderation would induce them to resume these labours, and to apply to others still more beneficial to Spain.

THEN the colony will produce for exportation to Europe, alum, buffalo skins, cassia, the *Faba Sancti Ignatii*, an useful drug in physic, indigo, cocoa which has been brought thither from Mexico, and succeeds very well, woods for dying, cotton, and bastard cinamon which will perhaps be improved, and which the Chinese were satisfied with, such as it was, before they frequented Batavia. Some travellers affirm that the island of Mindanao, where it grows, formerly produced clove trees also. They add that the sovereign of the island ordered them to be rooted up, saying he had better do it himself than be compelled to it by the Dutch. This anecdote looks very suspicious. What is certain is, that the vicinity of the Moluccas affords great facility for procuring the trees that bear nutmeg and cloves.

THE foreign markets will furnish Spain with silks, callicoes, and other articles of the produce of Asia for their own consumption, and will sell them cheaper to the Spaniards than to their competitors. All other nations in Europe make use of money drawn from America to trade to India. Before this money can reach the place of its destination, it has paid heavy duties, has taken a prodigious compass, and has been exposed to great risks; whereas the Spaniards, by sending it directly from



**BOOK** 1. from America to the Philippines, would save duties, time and insurance; so that by furnishing the same quantity of specie as the rival nations, they would in fact make their purchases at a cheaper rate.

IN process of time there would even be no necessity of carrying so much ready money from place to place, if they knew how to improve those islands to the degree they are capable of. For this purpose they should recal to their sea-ports the nations who frequented them before they were invaded by the Spaniards, and obliterate the memory of the forty thousand subjects of China, who were settled in the Philippines, and were almost all inhumanly butchered, because they would not tamely submit to the horrid yoke that was laid on them. The Chinese would then desert Batavia, which is too far off, and cause arts and agriculture to revive in these islands. They would soon be followed by many free traders of Europe, who are dispersed in various parts of India, and consider themselves as victims to the monopoly of their respective companies. The natives, excited to labour by the advantages inseparable from such a competition, would be roused from their indolence. They would be fond of the government that would study to promote their happiness; would gladly submit to its laws, and in a short time would become intirely Spaniards. If our conjectures are not vain, such a colony would be more profitable than a mere passive settlement, which devours part of the treasures of America. Such a revolution may easily be brought about, and must infallibly be hastened by establishing a great freedom of trade, a civil and religious liberty unlimited, and a complete security for the property of individuals.

THIS can never be the work of an exclusive company. For these two centuries past, since the Europeans have frequented the seas of Asia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable spirit. In vain have  
society,

society, morality and politics been improved amongst us, those distant countries have seen nothing but our rapaciousness, our restlessness and our tyranny. The mischief we have done to other parts of the world has sometimes been compensated by the knowledge we have imparted to them, and the wise institutions we have established among them: but the Indians have continued to groan under their former darkness and despotism, and we have taken no pains to rescue them from those dreadful calamities. Had the several governments directed the steps of their free traders, it is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a passion for riches, and that some nations would have made attempts fit to render their names illustrious. Such noble and pure intentions could never be pursued by any company of merchants. Confined within the narrow limits of present profit, they have never considered the happiness of the people with whom they traded, and no one has ever taken offence at a behaviour which could not but be expected.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, from whom perhaps no great things are expected, to shew a sensibility for the interests of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to shake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a state of infancy, notwithstanding its natural strength. Its subjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been preserved by their own indolence and the stupidity of their government. These people must necessarily be inclined to good; they may know it, and no doubt would exercise it, having all the means of accomplishing it in the possessions their conquests have given them, in the richest countries of the universe. Their ships, destined to waft felicity to the remotest parts of Asia, would sail from their several ports, meet at the Canary islands, or separately

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I.

ately pursue their respective voyages, as it suited them best. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the sale of their cargoes would greatly increase their capitals. This advantage would secure to them a superiority over their competitors, who sail with false bills of lading, seldom carrying any thing but money. They would find refreshments up the river Plata if they should be in want of them. Those who were in a condition to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even go on to the island of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful island, which takes its name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a dislike to it after he had lived there some considerable time, lies at 110 leagues distant from the continent of Chili. Its greatest length is but about five leagues, and the breadth not quite two. In so small a compass, and very uneven ground, are found a clear sky, a pure air, excellent water, and all the vegetables that are a specific against the scurvy. It has appeared from experience that all sorts of European and American corn, fruit and quadrupeds will thrive there to admiration. The coasts abound with fish; and to add to all these advantages, there is a good harbour, where ships are sheltered from every wind but the north, and that never blows hard enough to endanger them in the least.

THESE conveniences have induced all the pirates who have infested the coasts of Peru to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anson, who went to the South Seas, with more extensive projects, found there a comfortable and safe asylum. The Spaniards convinced at last that the precaution they had taken to destroy the cattle they had left there, is insufficient to keep off their enemies, intend to build a fort on the island. That military post will become a useful settlement, if the court of Madrid will

will but attend to her own interest. It is needless to enter into farther particulars. It is evident how much the plan we have hinted at would conduce to the advantage of trade and navigation, and to the greatness of Spain. The connections that Russia carries on by land with China, can never acquire the same degree of importance,

BOOK  
I.

BETWEEN those two great empires lies an immense space, known in the earliest ages by the name of Scythia, and since by that of Tartary, taken in its full extent. This region is bounded to the west by the Caspian sea and Persia; to the south by Persia, Indostan, the kingdoms of Aracan and Ava, China, and Corea; to the east by the eastern sea; and to the north by the frozen ocean. One part of these vast deserts is subject to the Chinese empire; another is under the dominion of Russia; the third is independent, and is called Kharism, and Greater and Lesser Bucharra.

General  
notions of  
Tartary.

THE inhabitants of those famous regions have always lived by hunting and fishing, and upon the milk of their flocks, and have ever been averse to cities and a sedentary life, and equally so to husbandry. Their origin which has been lost in their deserts, and in their wandering way of life, is not more ancient than their customs. They have gone on doing as their forefathers did, and if we trace them back from generation to generation, we shall find that the present Tartars are just like those of the earliest ages.

THESE people, for the most part, have long been followers of the great Lama, who resides at Putali, a town situated in a country which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extensive region, where mountains rise above mountains, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indostan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tfanli by the Chinese, Lassa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

THIS

## BOOK

## I.

THIS religion appears from unquestionable monuments to be of above three thousand years standing, and is founded on the existence of a supreme being, and the purest principles of morality.

It is said, the followers of that pontiff believe him to be immortal, and to keep up the deceit, the deity never shews himself but to a few confidants; that when he appears to receive the adorations of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light shews rather the shadow than the features of that living god; that when he dies, another priest is substituted in his stead, as nearly of the same size and figure, as possible; and that by means of these precautions the delusion is carried on, even on the very spot where this farce is acted; and much more in the minds of believers who are farther removed from the scene of action.

A sagacious philosopher has lately dispelled this prejudice. It is true the great Lamas seldom shew themselves, the better to keep up that veneration they have inspired for their person and their mysteries; but they give audience to ambassadors, and admit princes who come to visit them. But if their person is seldom to be seen, except on some important occasions, or on high festivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

What has given rise to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas, is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy spirit which has resided in one of these pontiffs, immediately upon his death, removes into the body of him who is duly elected to succeed him. This transmigration of the divine spirit is perfectly consonant to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which has always been the standing system in those parts.

THE religion of Lama made considerable progress in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe,

globe. It is professed all over Thibet and Mongolia; is almost universal in Greater and Lesser Bucharía, and several provinces of Tartary, and has some followers in the kingdom of Cassimere in the Indies, and in China.

BOOK  
I.

THIS is the only worship that can boast of such remote antiquity, without having received any mixture of other tenets. The religion of the Chinese has more than once been adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and superstitions, which have crept in among the vulgar. The Jews have seen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demolished. Alexander and Mohammed did their utmost to extinguish the sacred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great measure impaired the worship of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, could ever shake the divine power of the great Lama.

THIS stability and perpetuity must be peculiar to those religions that have fixed tenets, a well-regulated ecclesiastical hierarchy, and a supreme head, who by his authority supports those tenets in their primitive state, by condemning all new opinions, which pride might be tempted to introduce, and credulity to adopt. The Lamas themselves confess that they are no gods; but they pretend to represent the divinity, and to have received a power from Heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worship. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to spiritual matters; but they think it beneath them to meddle with profane concerns, and always commit the administration of government to persons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This has successively occasioned the loss of several provinces of their vast dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was absolute master of all the Thibet, now possesses but a small part of it.

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The religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. It was to oppose their inroads into China, that three hundred years before the christian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Stoambo to the sea of Kamtschatka ; which is earthed up every where, and flanked in different parts with large towers, after the ancient manner of fortifying. Such a monument shews that there must have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire : but at the same time it seems to indicate that there was a want of prowess and military skill, If the Chinese had been men of courage, they would themselves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-disciplined armies ; if they had been skilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues long could not be defended in every part, and that if they were broken but in one place, all the rest of the fortifications would become useless.

THE inroads indeed of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by those barbarians, under the command of Genghis-kan. That foreign scepter was not broken till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a slave to his ministers.

WHEN the Tartars were expelled from their conquests, they did not bring home the laws and government of China. When they repassed the great wall, they relapsed into barbarism, and lived in their desarts, in as uncivilized a manner as they had done before. However, joining with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, they formed several hordes, which imperceptibly became populous, and in process of time, incorporated into that of the Mantchous. Their union inspired them again with the project of invading China,

China, which was torn with domestic dissensions. The malecontents were then so numerous, that they had no less than eight different armies, under the command of as many chiefs. In this confusion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, seized upon the capital in 1644, and soon after upon the whole state.

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THIS revolution seemed rather to increase China, by the accession of a great part of Tartary, than to subdue it. Soon after, it was again enlarged by the submission of the Mogul Tartars, famous for having founded most of the thrones in Asia, and in particular that of Indostan.

THE conquerors submitted to the laws of the people they had conquered, and exchanged their own customs and manners for those of their slaves. This has been alledged as a proof of the wisdom of the Chinese government; but it seems to be no more than a natural consequence of this plain and simple principle, that the lesser number must yield to the greater. The Tartars, in the most populous empire upon earth, were not one in ten thousand; so that, to bring about a change of manners and government, one Tartar must have prevailed over ten thousand Chinese, which is hardly possible in the nature of things. We have sufficient proofs of the excellency of the Chinese administration, without having recourse to this. Besides, those Tartars had no settled customs and manners; no wonder then if they adopted the institutions they found in China, whether good or bad. This revolution was scarce completed, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, who might become a dangerous one.

THE Russians, who towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a series of deserts as

Dispute of  
the Russians  
and Chinese in  
far Tartary.



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far as the river Amour, which brought them to the eastern sea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them near the confines of China, a country so highly extolled for its riches.

THE Chinese were apprehensive that the incursions of the Russians might in time give them some disturbance, and they erected some forts to put a stop to this ambitious enemy. Warm contentions then began between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent between the hunting parties, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiaries of both courts found means to reconcile matters in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negotiation, 300 leagues from the great wall. This was the first treaty the Chinese had ever been concerned in, since the foundation of their empire. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Peking, where strangers had never been allowed to come, but were kept off with mysterious precautions. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxims.

The Russians obtain leave to send a caravan to China.

THIS condescension did not inspire the Russians with moderation. They persisted in their usurpations, and built a city, thirty leagues beyond the stipulated limits, which they called Albassinskoi. The Chinese having in vain complained of this encroachment, they at last determined to do themselves justice in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not spare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a three years siege.

THE court of Petersburg was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitless resentment. They sent a minister

minister to Pekin in 1719, with instructions to revive the trade that had been interrupted by the late disturbances. The negotiations succeeded; but the caravan of 1721 having behaved with no more prudence than the former, it was agreed that for the future the two nations should have no dealings together but upon the frontiers. Fresh misunderstandings have again interrupted this intercourse, and they now carry on only a contraband trade; even that is but in a languid state, but it is thought the Russians are endeavouring to revive it.

THE advantages they will derive from it, are sufficient to induce them to surmount all the difficulties inseparable from such an undertaking. They are the only nation in Europe that can trade with the Chinese without money, and barter their own commodities for those of China. With their rich and choice furs, they will always purchase the things with which the Chinese can furnish great part of the globe. Independent of the articles they want for their own consumption, they may deal largely in tea and rhubarb. It would be both prudent and easy to re-export these two articles, because when brought over by land, they will preserve a degree of perfection which they must lose in a voyage over those immense seas they must cross, to come from such remote parts of Asia. But to turn this trade to any advantage, it must be conducted upon other principles than have hitherto been followed.

FORMERLY a caravan went every year from Peterburgh, traversed immense deserts, and was met on the frontiers of China by some hundreds of soldiers, who escorted it to the capital of the empire. There, all who belonged to it were shut up in a caravansera, to wait till the merchants should chuse to come and offer them the refuse of their warehouses. Their affairs being thus

**BOOK** finished, they returned to their own country, and got to  
**I.** Petersburg three years after their departure.

IN the ordinary course of things, the bad goods brought by the caravan would have been worth very little; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and the things were sold under the eye of the sovereign, the meanest objects acquired a value. Being admitted to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch seldom granted but to his favourites. All were desirous of approving themselves worthy of this distinction, and the way to succeed was by over-bidding each other without discretion, as each was ambitious that his name should appear upon the list of the buyers. Notwithstanding this infamous emulation, what was put up to sale was so trifling, that the produce, deducting the consumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns. (13,125*l.*) To establish this trade upon a more respectable footing, it should be left to private persons, who understand it better, and who would take more pains about it.

Projects of  
the Russian  
court to  
trade to  
the Indies,  
through  
independ-  
ent Tar-  
tary.

THIS would have been the right method, if the scheme of Peter the Great could have been brought to bear, which was, to have opened a communication between Siberia and India by independent Tartary. That great prince, who was always full of projects, wanted to form that connection by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkestan, and in 1719, he sent 2500 men to seize upon the mouth of that river.

THERE was no such river to be found; its waters had been turned off, and conveyed through several channels to the lake Atall. This had been done by the Usbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated observations they had seen making. The Russians determined therefore to return to Astracan, whence they came. The court of Petersburg was obliged to relinquish the project,

project, and be content with the intercourse already **B O O K**  
formed with India by the Caspian sea. **I.**

**SUCH** was, in the remotest ages, the way in which the north and south communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immense lake, which are now very poor, very destitute of inhabitants, and in a very rude state, exhibit to an attentive eye evident and undeniable tokens of former grandeur. Coins of the ancient Kaliphs are daily discovered there. These monuments, with others equally authentic, would seem to favour the story of some Indians having been shipwrecked on the coasts of the Elbe in the reign of Augustus, which has always been looked upon as fabulous, notwithstanding the concurrent testimony of contemporary writers who related the fact. It is inconceivable how any inhabitants of India could sail on the Germanic seas; but, as Voltaire observes, it was not more wonderful to see an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to see a Roman make his way into India through Arabia. The Indians went into Persia, where they embarked on the sea of Hyrcania, sailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might go and embark on the northern sea or on the Baltic. There have been men of enterprising genius in all ages.

**WHATEVER** may be thought of these conjectures, the English had no sooner discovered Archangel about the middle of the sixteenth century, and settled a commerce with Russia, than they conceived a project of opening a way into Persia, by the Wolga and the Caspian sea, which would be much easier and shorter than that of the Portuguese, who were obliged to sail round Africa and part of Asia, to get into the gulph of Persia. A further inducement to attempt it was, that the northern parts of Persia, bordering upon the Caspian sea, produce much richer commodities than the southern.

Intercourse  
between  
Russia, and  
the Indies  
by the Cas-  
pian sea.

**B O O K** I. The silks of Chirvan, Mazanderan, and more especially Gilan, are the best in all the east, and might serve to establish excellent manufactures. But the trade of the English was not yet sufficiently confirmed to encounter the difficulties that must attend so vast and so complicated an undertaking.

SOME years after, a duke of Holstein, who had established some silk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by these difficulties. He wanted to get the raw silk from Persia, and sent ambassadors thither, who lost their lives on the Caspian sea.

WHEN the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they also wished to procure Persian silks by way of Russia; but their fatal passion for conquest made them forget this project, as well as many others that had been suggested by men of understanding, for the welfare of that great nation.

PETER I, guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be sensible at last, that his subjects were the people who ought to enrich themselves by fetching away the produce of Persia, and in time that of India. Accordingly in 1722, at the first beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince seized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caspian sea. The heat of the climate, the dampness of the soil, and the malignancy of the air, destroyed the troops that were left to defend those conquests. Russia however did not resolve to relinquish her usurped provinces, till the year 1736, when the victorious Kouli-kan, having conquered the Turks, was enabled to take them by force.

THE court of Petersburg thought no more of any commerce with that part of the world, when an Englishman of the name of Elton laid a scheme in 1741, for

for procuring that trade to his nation. This enterprising man was in the service of Russia : his proposal was to convey English woollen cloths by way of the Wolga and the Caspian sea, to Persia, to the north of Indostan, and to the greatest part of Tartary. In consequence of his operations, he was to bring home in exchange, gold, and such commodities as the Armenians sold at an extravagant price, being masters of all the inland trade of Asia. This plan was warmly adopted by the English company in Muscovy, and favoured by the Russian ministry.

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BUT the English adventurer had scarce entered upon this plan, when Kouli-kan, who wanted bold and active men to second his ambition, found means to decoy him into his service, and by his assistance to make himself master of the Caspian sea. The court of Petersburg, exasperated at this treachery, revoked in 1746 all the privileges they had granted ; but this was a poor remedy for so great an evil. The untimely death of the Persian tyrant, was much more likely to quiet the minds of the people.

THAT great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into a worse state of anarchy than ever, restored to the Russians the dominion over the Caspian sea. This was a necessary preliminary to the opening of a trade with Persia and the Indies, but was not alone sufficient to ensure its success. The Armenians made it next to impossible. An active nation, accustomed to the eastern manners, in possession of large capitals, extremely frugal in their expences, who had connections of a long standing, entered into the minutest details, and embraced the most comprehensive speculations : such a nation was not easily to be supplanted. Nor did the court of Petersburg expect it, but wisely determined to allure a colony of those crafty, laborious, and wealthy people to settle at Astracan. It

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is through their hands that all goods coming from Asia to Russia over-land, always did and still do pass. This importation is but small, and it will be long before it can considerably increase, unless some way can be found out to re-export the goods to some foreign market. To evince the truth of this assertion, we need but take a cursory view of the present state of Russia.

State of the  
Russian  
empire, and  
the means  
to make it  
flourish.

THIS empire, which, like all others, rose from small beginnings, is become in process of time the largest in the world. Its extent from east to west is 2200 leagues, and from south to north about 800.

MANY of the members of this vast empire never had any government, and have none to this day. Those who by violence, or from particular circumstances are become the chief of the rest, have always been actuated by Asiatic principles, and have been oppressors or arbitrary tyrants. The only thing in which they have conformed to the customs of Europe, has been the institution of a peerage.

THESE are undoubtedly the chief causes which have prevented the increase of the human race in that immense country. By the survey taken in 1747, there appeared but 6,646,390 persons who paid the poll tax; and all the males were included in the list, from the infant to the oldest man. Supposing the number of women to be equal to that of men, there will appear to be 13,292,780 slaves in Russia. To this calculation must be added the orders of men in the empire who are exempt from paying this shameful tax; the military, who amount to 200,000 men; the nobility and clergy, who are supposed to amount to the like number; and the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Livonia, computed at 1,200,000. So that the whole population of Russia does not exceed 14,892,780 persons of both sexes.

IT would be as needless as it is impossible, to number the people who rove about those vast deserts. As hordes of Tartars, Siberians, Samoiedes, Laplanders and Ostiaks, cannot contribute to the wealth, strength, or splendor of a state, they are to be reckoned as nothing, or as very inconsiderable.

THE population being small, the revenues of the empire cannot be considerable. When Peter I. came to the crown, the taxes brought in but twenty-five millions; (1,093,750*l.*) he increased them to sixty-five. (2,843,750*l.*) Since his death they have not greatly increased, and yet the people are sinking under a burden that is above their strength, which is enervated by despotism.

IT is his high time that Russia should think of a remedy against this want of population and wealth. The only effectual one is agriculture. It is to no purpose to encourage it in the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in those frozen deserts. The scattered inhabitants of that inhospitable climate will never have any thing for food and raiment, and to pay their tribute with, but birds, fish and wild beasts.

FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aspect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation; yet all is languid throughout an immense territory, for want of hands and means. The soil only wants the encouragement and indulgence of a wise government, to enrich its inhabitants. The Ukraine deserves a particular attention.

THAT spacious region, which has belonged to the Porte and to Poland, and is now a part of the Czar's dominions, is perhaps the most fruitful country in the known world. It supplies Russia with most of her home consumption, and articles of trade; and yet they do not draw the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The Cossacks, who inhabited that country,



**BOOK** try, have almost all perished in fatal expeditions. Some  
**I.** attempts have been made to replace them by Ostiaks,  
 and Samoiedes, not considering that it was spoiling the  
 breed to no purpose, to introduce a puny race of little  
 deformed creatures amongst a hardy one of tall, stout,  
 and resolute men. It would be very easy and practicable  
 to give encouragement to the Moldavians and Wala-  
 chians to settle there, as they profess the same religion  
 as Russia, and consider it as the seat of the Greek empire.

**NOTHING** would be more conducive to cultivation  
 than the working of the mines. Some are to be found  
 in several provinces, but there is plenty of them in Si-  
 beria, though it is a low country, and the soil is moist  
 and marshy. The iron that is dug out of these mines  
 is better than in any other part of Russia, and equal to  
 that of Sweden. This would employ a number of idle  
 hands, and furnish excellent implements of husbandry  
 for the use of wretched slaves, who are too often forced  
 to dig a hard and stubborn soil with wooden tools. Si-  
 beria not only yields iron, but those precious metals  
 which all men and all nations so eagerly covet. The  
 silver mines near Argun have long been known, and  
 others, both of silver and gold, have lately been disco-  
 vered in the country of the Baskirs. It would be best  
 for some nations to neglect and stop up these sources of  
 riches; but that is not the case with Russia, where all  
 the inland provinces are so poor, that they are scarce  
 acquainted with money, that universal vehicle of  
 trade.

**THE** trade which the Russians have opened with  
 China, Persia, Turkey and Poland, consists almost en-  
 tirely in furs, such as ermine, sables, white wolves and  
 black foxes skins, which all come from Siberia. Some  
 skins that are remarkably fine, which have very long  
 glossy hair, of a beautiful colour, or happen to hit the  
 fancy of the buyer, sell at a most extravagant price.

These

These connections might become more considerable, and be extended to other objects. BOOK  
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BUT the greatest demand for the produce of the country will always be on the side of the Baltic. It seldom passes through the hands of the Russian merchants. They commonly want skill, stock, credit and liberty. The import and export of all commodities is transacted by foreign houses.

No country is so happily situated for extending its commerce. Almost all its rivers are navigable. Peter the Great brought art to the assistance of nature, and ordered canals to be cut to join those rivers together. The principal of them are now finished ; some are not quite completed, and some are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caspian sea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

UNFORTUNATELY these means which render the circulation of all commodities so easy in the interior parts of Russia, and so much facilitate an intercourse with all parts of the globe, are made useless by those fetters which industry cannot shake off.

THE government have kept in their own hands the buying and selling of the most valuable productions of the country ; and as long as this monopoly continues, the operations of trade will be unfair, and languid. The relinquishing of this destructive revenue would contribute to public prosperity, but that alone would not be sufficient, without the reduction of the army.

WHEN Peter I. came to the crown, the military in Russia consisted only of 40,000 Strelits, undisciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but against the people whom they oppressed, and against the sovereign whom they deposed or murdered at pleasure. This great prince discarded that seditious militia, and established

**B O O K** blished an army, modelled after those of the other states  
**I.** in Europe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the goodness of its troops, Russia is of all the different powers, that which ought to be the most cautious of entering into a war. The desire of acquiring an influence in the affairs of Europe, should never tempt the Russians far from their own frontiers; they could not act without subsidies, and it would be madness for a nation that has but six persons to a league square, ever to think of selling their blood. Nor should they be excited to hostilities by the desire of enlarging their dominions, which are already too extensive. Never will that empire reap the benefit of the labours of its reformer, and form a compact state, or become an enlightened and flourishing nation, unless they renounce the rage of conquest, to apply solely to the peaceful arts. None of their neighbours can force them to depart from that salutary system.

ON the north side, the empire is better guarded by the frozen sea, than it would be by squadrons and fortresses.

To the east, a single battalion and two field pieces, would disperse all the hordes of Tartars that should attempt to molest them.

SHOULD Persia rise from its ruins, all efforts from that quarter would be lost in the Caspian sea, and in those immense deserts which separate that country from Russia.

To the south, the Turks are now enfeebled, and the seat of war would be alike destructive to the conquered and to the conqueror.

To the west, the Russians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and have hardly any territory left.

SWEDEN

SWEDEN has lost all that made her formidable, and has nothing left but the certainty of being stripped of Finland, whenever it shall suit the interest or the court of Petersburg. BOOK  
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SHOULD the genius of Frederick, which now makes in the north a counterpoise to the forces of Muscovy, descend to his successors, it is not likely that the ambition of Brandenburg should ever turn towards Russia. Those monarchs could never venture an attack upon that empire, without turning their forces also towards Germany; and this would necessarily divide their strength in such a manner, that it could not act with efficacy.

THE result of these discussions is, that it is for the true interest of Russia to reduce her land forces, and possibly the same might hold true with regard to her navy.

THE small connections of that empire with the rest of Europe, were wholly carried on by land, when the English in seeking a passage to the East Indies by the northern seas, discovered the port of Archangel. Sailing up the Dwina, they came to Moscow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

RUSSIA had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. undertook to invite the traders who frequent the white sea to come to the Baltic, as a means of procuring a more extensive and advantageous opportunity of disposing of the produce of his empire. His creative genius went farther still. He was ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and fixed his fleets at Cronstadt, which is a harbour to Petersburg.

THE sea is not broad enough before the basin of the harbour. The ships that are coming in, are forcibly driven by the impetuosity of the Neva, upon the dangerous coasts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel

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channel so full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided unless the weather is remarkably fine. The ships soon rot in the harbour. The sending out of the squadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but by an easterly wind, and the westerly winds blow in those latitudes the greatest part of the summer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock yards are at Petersburg, from whence the ships cannot get to Cronstadt, without passing over a very dangerous flat, that lies in the middle of the river.

If Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men have, as well as others, for their own creations, he might easily have been made sensible that Cronstadt and Petersburg are improper places for the naval forces of Russia, and that it is in vain to expect that art should force nature. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much fitter for the purpose. Perhaps too, his own reflections would have led him to consider that the nature of his empire was not calculated for that species of power.

RUSSIA has but few sea coasts; most of them are not peopled; and none will ever practise navigation, unless there should be a change of government. Where then would they find officers capable of commanding men of war?

YET Peter I. found means to form a navy. A passion which nothing could controul, made him surmount obstacles which were thought to be invincible; but it was with more show than utility. If ever his successors are in earnest for the good of their empire, they will forego the vain glory of making a parade of their flag in distant latitudes, where they have no trade to protect, as theirs is all carried on upon their own coasts, and only by foreign merchants. When the Russians thus change their system, they will save the needless expence of thirty-six or forty men of war, and be content with

with their galleys, which are quite sufficient for their defence, and would even enable them to attack all the powers on the Baltic, if there should be occasion for it.

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THOSE galleys are of different rates: some are fitted for the use of the cavalry, but a greater number for that of the infantry. As the whole crew consists of soldiers, who are taught to handle the oar, their expeditions are never retarded, nor attended with any expence. They come to an anchor every night, and land where they are least expected.

WHEN the landing is accomplished, the troops draw the galleys ashore, and intrench themselves in a body. Part of the army are left as a guard, and the rest disperse about the country that they intend to lay under contribution. When the expedition is over, they reimbark, and repeat their devastations in other places. Experience has shewn how much may be done by these armaments.

THE changes we have suggested, are indispensably necessary to put Russia in a flourishing condition; but this is not the only thing required. To insure the continuance of her prosperity, some stability must be given to the order of the succession. The crown of Russia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became elective at the last revolution. But every nation would wish to know upon what right its government is established; and the claim that strikes the people most is birthright. When this visible sign is removed from the eyes of the multitude, there is nothing but revolt and dissention.

BUT it is not enough to give the people a sovereign whom they cannot refuse to acknowledge, that sovereign must make them happy, and this can never be done in Russia, till the form of government is changed.

CIVIL slavery is the condition of every subject in that empire, who is not noble: they are all at the disposal

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of their barbarous masters, as cattle are in other countries. Amongst these slaves, none are so ill used as those who till the ground; those valuable men, whose ease, happiness, and freedom have been celebrated with such enthusiasm in happier climes.

POLITICAL slavery is the lot of the whole nation, since the sovereigns have established arbitrary power. Among the subjects who are considered as free, not one can be morally certain of the safety of his person, the property of his fortune, or even of his liberty, which may at any time be taken away, except in some cases previously determined by law.

EUROPE has long been entertained with the project of a code of laws preparing for Russia. The august princess, who now governs that empire, well knew, that the people themselves must approve the laws they are to obey, that they may reverence and love them as their own work; and thus addressed the deputies from all the cities of her vast empire. *My children, consider well with me the interests of the nation; let us together draw up a body of laws, which may establish public felicity upon a solid basis.* But what are laws without magistrates? What are magistrates, whose sentence the despot may reverse according to his own caprice, and even punish him for passing it.

UNDER such a government, no tie can subsist between the members and their head: If he is always formidable to them, they are no less so to him. The strength he exerts to oppress them, is no other than their own united strength turned against themselves. Despair, or a noble sentiment, may every moment turn it against him.

THE respect due to the memory of so great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent us from declaring that he had not the gift of seeing at one view all the requisites for a well constituted state. He was born with genius, and had been inspired with a love of glory. This passion  
made

made him active, patient, assiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty he met with in the pursuit of his schemes, whether they proceeded from nature, ignorance, custom or obstinacy. With these virtues, and the foreign aids he called in, he succeeded in establishing an army, a fleet, and a sea port. He made several regulations necessary for the prosecution of his bold projects; but though fame has proclaimed him under the sublime title of a law-giver, he barely enacted two or three laws, and those few bear the stamp of a savage disposition. He never proceeded so far as to combine the happiness of his people, with his own personal greatness. After his noble institutions, his people were as wretched as ever, and still groaned under poverty, slavery, and oppression. He never relaxed in any one instance his despotic sway, but rather made it more oppressive, and bequeathed to his successors that detestable and pernicious notion, that the subjects are nothing, and that the sovereign is all.

SINCE his death, it has been repeatedly asserted that the nation was not yet sufficiently enlightened to be benefited by liberty. Let flattering courtiers, and false ministers learn, that liberty is the birthright of all men; that it is the business of a well regulated society to direct and guide it to the good of all; and that it is unlawful power that has robbed the greatest part of the globe of that natural advantage.

CATHERINE, who seems to have ascended the throne with an ambition for great things, begins to be sensible that ravages committed in the deserts of Moldavia, and in some defenceless islands, bought with the lives of two or three hundred thousand men, will not endear her name to posterity. She is labouring to instill notions of liberty into a people stupified by slavery; but it is doubtful whether she will succeed with regard to the present generation.



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## I.

WITH regard to the next, perhaps the best way would be, to chuse out one of the most fertile provinces of the empire, there to build houses, to furnish them with all the implements of husbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each house. It would then be proper to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the full property of the houses and lands prepared for them, to secure to them a subsistence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who has no property in the country. A toleration should be granted to all religions, and consequently private and domestic worship should be allowed, but no public worship.

FROM thence the seeds of liberty would spread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would see the happiness of these colonists, and wish to be as happy as they are. Were I to be cast among savages, I would not bid them build huts to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myself. When the severe season came on, I should enjoy the benefit of my foresight; the savage would see it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the same with an enslaved nation; we are not to bid them be free, but we are to lay before their eyes the sweets of liberty, and they will wish for them.

I would by no means impose upon my colonists the burden of the first expences I had incurred on their account; much less would I entail the pretended debt upon their offspring. This would be false and inhuman policy. Is not a state sufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five or thirty years of age, who brings it the gift of his person, his strength, his talents and his life? Must he pay a rent likewise for the present he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be treated as a subject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project is meant to succeed, and if the people are to be

be brought to that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with. BOOK  
I.

IN this new arrangement of persons and things, where the interests of the monarch will be blended with those of the subject, in order to strengthen Russia, she must aim less at glory, and sacrifice the influence she has assumed over the general affairs of Europe. Petersburg, which has improperly been made a capital, must be reduced to a meer commercial staple; and the seat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from such a center of dominion, that a wise sovereign, acquainted with the wants and resources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the suppression of every kind of slavery, will spring up a middle state among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever existed in any nation.

TILL this is accomplished, the court of Russia will strive in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Those exotics will perish there, as foreign plants do in our green-houses. In vain will they erect schools and academies at Petersburg; in vain will they send pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the best masters. Those young people, on their return from their travels, will be forced to drop their talents, and embrace a subaltern condition to get a livelihood. In all things, we must begin at the right end; and the way to do this is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower classes of men. Learn to till the ground, to dress skins, to manufacture your wool, and you will soon see wealthy families spring up. From these will arise children, who, not chusing to follow the laborious professions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converse, to arrange syllables, and to imitate nature; and then you will have philosophers, orators, poets, painters, and statuaries. Their produc-

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tion will become necessary to rich men, and they will purchase them. As long as men are in want they will work, and continue to work till their wants are satisfied. Then they grow lazy and weary of themselves; and the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and idleness, for men fly to them when they have no other means of employment.

If we attend to the progress of society, we shall find husbandmen plundered by robbers; these husbandmen chuse some from among themselves to oppose the robbers, and thus they commence soldiers. Whilst some are reaping, and the rest standing sentinel, a parcel of by-standers say to the labourers and soldiers, you seem to be hard at work; if you husbandmen will feed us, and you soldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our songs and dances. Thus we have the bard and the man of letters. In process of time, this man of letters is sometimes linked with the chief against the people, and sings the praises of tyranny; sometimes with the people against the tyrant, and then he sings the praises of liberty. In both cases, he is become a citizen of consequence.

LET us follow the constant march of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We shall see all our efforts and expences come to nothing, and every thing decaying around us; we shall find ourselves in much the same barbarous state, from whence we strove to disengage ourselves, and thus we shall remain till some incident calls forth a natural police out of our own lands; for as to foreign aids, they can at most but hasten its progress. We are to expect nothing more, and to cultivate our own advantages.

In this we shall find another advantage, which is that the arts and sciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we shall be originals; whereas, if we borrow foreign models, we shall be ignorant

ignorant of the cause of their perfection, and we shall never be any thing more than imperfect copyists. BOOK  
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THE picture we have allowed ourselves to draw of Russia, may be thought to be an improper digression; but this may, possibly, be a favourable opportunity of setting a just value upon a power, which for some years past, has acted so conspicuous and splendid a part. Let us now inquire into the connections the other European nations have formed with China.

CHINA is a nation in which there are fewer idle people, than in any other part of the world, perhaps, the only one where there are none. Though they have the art of printing, and all the general means of education, they can shew neither a capital building, nor a beautiful statue, nor any elegant compositions in poetry, nor prose; they have no musick, nor painting; nor have they any knowledge, but what an observing man might acquire by himself, and by his industry carry to a great degree of perfection. As their customs allow of no emigration, and that the empire is extremely populous, their labours are confined to necessaries. More profit attends the invention of the smallest useful art, than the most sublime discovery that only shews an exertion of genius. A man who can turn the cuttings of gauze to some use, is more esteemed than one who can solve the most difficult problem. In this country especially, the following question is frequently put, which is indeed too often asked among ourselves. *What is that good for?* When they are apprehensive of a scarcity, all the citizens exert their utmost efforts, and lose not a moment of time. Interest must be the secret or open spring of all their actions. They must therefore of course be addicted to lying, fraud, and theft; and must be mean spirited, narrow minded, selfish, and covetous.

AN European who buys silks at Canton; is cheated in the quantity, quality, and price. The goods are car-

Connections of the Europeans with China. State of that empire with respect to its trade.

## BOOK

## I.

ried on board; where the dishonesty of the Chinese merchant is soon detected. When he comes for his money, the European tells him: Chinese, thou hast cheated me; that may be, replies the Chinese, but you must pay. But, says the European, thou art a rogue, a scoundrel, a wretch. European, answers the Chinese, that may be, but I must be paid. The European pays, the Chinese takes his money, and says at parting; what has thy anger availed thee? What hast thou got by abusing me? Would it not have been much better to have paid at once, and have held thy tongue. Wherever men are hardened to insults, and do not blush at dishonesty, the empire may be very well governed, but the morals of the people must be very bad.

THIS disposition for lucre, made the Chinese renounce the use of gold and silver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to it by the daily increase of false coiners, and were reduced to the necessity of circulating none but copper money.

COPPER becoming scarce, though history has not informed us by what means, those shells were afterwards brought into use, so well known by the name of cowries. The government having observed that the people grew tired of such brittle money, ordered that all copper vessels in the empire should be brought to the mint. This ill judged expedient proving insufficient to answer the demands of the public, they pulled down about four hundred temples of the God Fo, and melted down all his idols. After this, the court paid the magistrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper. The people were so exasperated at these dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the selfish disposition of the Chinese, their foreign connections were but small. The  
little

little intercourse they had with other nations proceeded **BOOK**  
 from the contempt in which they held them. They **I.**  
 grew desirous however of frequenting the neighbouring  
 ports; and the Tartar government, less solicitous than  
 the former for keeping up old customs, favoured this  
 means of increasing the wealth of the nation. Expedi-  
 tions were openly made, whereas before they were only  
 tolerated by the selfish governors of the maritime pro-  
 vinces. A people famed for their wisdom, could not  
 fail of meeting with a favourable reception. They took  
 advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained  
 of their taste, to recommend the commodities they had  
 to dispose of, and their industry extended itself on the  
 continent as well as by sea.

CHINA at present trades with the Corea, which is  
 supposed to have been originally peopled with Tartars.  
 It was certainly conquered by them several times, and  
 has been sometimes enslaved by, and sometimes inde-  
 pendent of, the Chinese; to whom it now pays tribute.  
 Thither they carry china ware, tea, and silks; and in  
 return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary  
 sort of ginseng.

THE Tartars, who may be considered as foreigners,  
 purchase of the Chinese, woollen stuffs, rice, tea, to-  
 bacco, for which they give them sheep, oxen, furs, and  
 chiefly ginseng. This shrub grows only upon the high-  
 est mountains, in the thickest forests, and about the  
 craggy rocks. The stem is hairy, strait, round, and  
 of a deep red, except towards the bottom, where it  
 becomes whitish. It grows to the height of about eigh-  
 teen inches. Towards the top, it throws out branches  
 which bear oblong leaves, that are small, woolly, jag-  
 ged, of a dark green on the upper side, and whitish  
 and glossy on the back. The age of the shrub is known  
 by the shoots, and the older it is, the better. The vir-  
 tues of the ginseng are many, but it is generally allowed

to

**B O O K** to be a strengthener of the stomach, and a purifier of the blood. The Chinese are so fond of it, that they never think they can pay too dear for it. The government sends out ten thousand Tartar soldiers every year to gather this plant, and every one is obliged to bring two ounces of the best ginseng gratis, and for the rest they are paid its weight in silver. Private persons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does not prevent their going in search of it. If they did not break this unjust law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and consequently must go without them.

**I.** **W**E have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Russians. At present it is of little consequence, but it may and must become considerable.

**T**HEIR trade with lesser Bucharia, is nothing more than bartering tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth for the gold dust they find in their streams, when the snow begins to melt. If ever those savages learn to work the mines that their mountains are full of, their connections, which are now so few, will soon increase, and it is impossible to determine how far they may be extended.

**T**HE empire is parted from the Mogul dominions and other parts of the Indies, by sands, mountains, and rocks, which make all communication impracticable; so that their inland trade is so contracted, that it does not exceed eight or nine millions, (on an average, about 372,000*l.*). Their trade by sea is more considerable.

**I**T is supported by their silks, their tea, their china, and some articles of less consequence. Japan pays the Chinese in copper and gold; the Philippines with piastres; Batavia with pepper and other spices; Siam with woods for dying, and with varnish; Tonquin with silk, and Cochinchina with sugar and gold. All these several branches put together may amount to thirty millions,

lions, (1,312,500*l.*) and employ a hundred and fifty vessels. The Chinese got at least cent. per cent. upon these articles, of which Cochinchina pays half. Their correspondents in most of the markets they frequent, are descendents of such of their countrymen as fled from their own country, when the Tartars made themselves masters of it. BOOK  
I.

THE trade of China, which to the north does not extend farther than Japan, nor to the east beyond the straits of Malacca and the Sound, would probably have been carried farther, if the Chinese ship-builders had not been so wedded to their old customs, and had condescended to receive instructions from the Europeans.

THOSE who first appeared upon the coasts of China, were admitted alike into all the roads. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their violence with the men, and repeated acts of haughtiness and indiscretion, made them forfeit that privilege; and now they are only suffered to put in at Canton, the southermost harbour of the empire.

THIS city stands on the banks of the Tigris, a large river, that on one side communicates with the remotest provinces by means of several canals, and on the other brings up the largest ships to the very walls of the city. Formerly our ships were to be seen there intermixed with the Chinese vessels, but now they oblige all European ships to stop at Hoaung-pon, four leagues from the city. It is not clear whether they were induced to take this precaution from the fear of being surprized, or whether it was a contrivance of men in power for their own private interest. The mistrustful and rapacious disposition of the Chinese might give room for both these conjectures.

THIS regulation did not affect the personal situation of the navigators; they still enjoyed in Canton all the freedom



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freedom that is consistent with public order. Their profession inclined them to abuse this freedom, and they soon grew tired of so much circumspection as is requisite under a government full of formalities. They were punished for their imprudence, and forbidden all access to men in power. The magistrate wearied out with their perpetual complaints, would no longer hear them, but through the channel of interpreters who were dependent on the Chinese merchants. All Europeans were ordered to reside in one particular part of the town, that was allotted to them. None were exempted but such as could somewhere find a person who would be answerable for their good behaviour. The restraints were made still more grievous in 1760. The court being informed by the English that the trade laboured under scandalous hardships, sent commissaries from Peking, who were bribed by the parties accused. Upon the report made by these corrupt men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houses, where they could treat with none but such merchants as had an exclusive privilege. This monopoly has lately been abolished, but the other grievances still continue the same.

THESE mortifications have not disgusted us of trading to China. We continue to fetch from thence tea, china, raw silk, manufactured silks, varnish, paper, and some lesser articles.

The Europeans buy tea at China.

TEA is a shrub about as high as our pomegranate or myrtle. It is propagated by seeds, which are sown in holes three or four inches deep. Nothing is used but the leaves. It bears great plenty when it is three years old, but fewer at seven. It is then cut down to the stem, and shoots out sprigs, every one of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole shrub.

TEA is cultivated in most provinces in China, but is not equally good every where, though they are always careful to place it in a southern aspect and in valleys.

leys. That which grows in stony ground is far preferable to what grows in a light soil, but the worst sort is that which is produced in a clayish ground. BOOK  
I.

THE different degree of perfection in tea is not owing alone to the difference of soil; but still more to the season in which it is gathered.

THE first crop is gathered in March, when the leaves are yet small, tender and delicate, and this is called imperial tea, because it is chiefly reserved for the use of the court and people of fashion. The second crop is gathered in April; the leaves are then larger and more spread, but of lesser quality than the first. The last and coarsest tea is gathered in May. It is closely packed up in common pewter boxes, that the air may not get at it, which would make it lose its flavour.

TEA is the common drink of the Chinese. The use of it was not introduced from vain caprice. Almost throughout the empire, the waters are unwholesome and nauseous. Of all the methods that were tried to better them, none succeeded so well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with many virtues, and extolled as an excellent dissolvent, a purifier of the blood, a strengthener of the head and stomach, and a promoter of digestion and perspiration.

THE high opinion which the first Europeans conceived of the inhabitants, induced them to adopt their notion of tea, though perhaps they over-rated it. We caught their enthusiasm, and it has gone on increasing in the North of Europe and America, where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

THOUGH, in general, prejudice goes a great way, yet it must be allowed that tea produces some good effects in those countries where it is universally drunk; however, they cannot be so great any where as in China. We know the Chinese keep the best tea for themselves, and that they adulterate that intended for export-

**B O O K** I. exportations by mixing with it other leaves, which resemble those of tea in shape, but may not have the same properties. We know too that since the exportation has been so great, they are not so curious in the choice of the soil, nor so nice in the preparing of it. Our manner of using it, may likewise contribute to lessen its virtues. We drink it too hot and too strong; we put in a great deal of sugar, frequently perfumes, and sometimes pernicious liquors. Besides all this, its coming so far by sea is alone sufficient to exhaust most of its salubrious salts.

WE shall never be able to pass a definitive judgment on the virtues of tea, till it is transplanted into our own climates. We began to despair of success, though the experiments had been only made with seed, and it is said with bad seed. At last a tree has been brought over, the stem of which measured six inches, and it has been put into the hands of Linnæus, the most celebrated botanist in Europe. He has found means to preserve it, and he is in hopes he will be able to propagate it in open air, even in Sweden, since it thrives in the northern parts of China. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant at home, which can never suffer more by change of soil, than by growing musty in the long passage it must undergo in bringing from abroad. Not long ago we had as little prospect of attaining to the art of making china,

The Europeans buy Porcelain in China.

SOME years ago there were in the collection of Count de Caylus two or three little fragments of a vase, supposed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analysed, proved to be unglazed china. If that learned man has not been misinformed, the art of making porcelain was already known in the flourishing days of ancient Egypt. But without some more authentic monuments than a single fact, we must not rob China of this invention, where its origin is lost in the greatest antiquity.

EGYPT

EGYPT is supposed by many to have the pre-eminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to its foundation, and to laws, sciences and arts in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim: but who knows whether these two empires, are not equally ancient, and have not received all their social institutions from a people inhabiting the vast region that divides them? Whether the savage inhabitants of the great mountains of Asia, after wandering about for many ages, in the continent that makes the center of our hemisphere, have not insensibly dispersed along the coast of the surrounding seas, and formed themselves into separate nations in China, India, Persia and Egypt? Whether the successive floods which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have hemmed them in, and confined them to those regions, intersected with mountains and deserts. These conjectures are not altogether foreign to the history of commerce, as that must one time or other cast a greater light upon the general history of mankind, of their nations, opinions, and inventions of every kind.

THE art of making porcelain is, if not one of the most wonderful, at least one of the most pleasing that men have ever discovered, as neatness is preferable to finery.

CHINA is a species of earthen ware, the most perfect of any. It varies in colour, texture and transparency. Transparency indeed is not so essential to it, but that a great deal of very fine china does not possess this quality.

CHINA is commonly covered with white or coloured varnish. This varnish is nothing but a layer of melted glass, which must never be but half transparent. This is stiled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; and the unglazed is distinguished by the name of porcelain biscuit. This is intrinsically as good as the other,

**B O O K** other, but is neither so neat, so bright, nor so beautiful.  
**I.**

THE word earthen ware suits the definition of China, because, as all other earthen ware, the substance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere division of its parts. No metallic or saline substance whatever must enter into its composition, not even in the glazing, which must be made of substances nearly, if not altogether, as simple.

THE best china, and commonly the closest, is that which is made of the simplest materials, such as a vitrifiable stone, and a pure and white clay. On this last substance depend the closeness and compactness of porcelain, and indeed of earthen ware in general.

THE connoisseurs divide the china that comes from Asia into six classes; the trouted china, the old white, the japan, the Chinese, the Chinese japan, and the Indian. These several appellations rather denote a difference to the eye than a real distinction.

THE trouted china, which no doubt is called so from the resemblance it bears to the scales of a trout, seems to be the most ancient, and favours most of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paste is always very brown, and the surface appears all full of cracks. These cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the china itself; and therefore this sort is hardly transparent, does not sound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide these cracks, they paint it with a variety of colours: in this kind of ornament consists its only value. The ease with which Count Lauragais has imitated it, has convinced us that it is only an imperfect sort of china.

The old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we consider only the outside, or examine the inside. This is very curious china, but very scarce, and but little used,

used. The paste seems to be extremely short, and fit only for small vases, figures, and other ornamental china. It is sold in trade for japan, though they certainly make very fine of this sort in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream colour, the other a bluish white, which makes it look more transparent. The glazing seems to be more incorporated into this last. They have tried to imitate this sort at St. Cloud, and some pieces have been produced, that looked very fine, but those who have narrowly examined them have said they were no better than frit or lead, and would not stand a comparison.

THE japan is not so easily distinguished as most people imagine, from the finest of the sort made in China. A skilful adept whom we have consulted, pretends that in general the glazing of the true japan is whiter, and has less of the bluish cast than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments are laid on with less profusion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not so whimsical, and better copied from nature. His opinion seems to be confirmed by the testimony of some writers, who tell us that the Chinese who trade to Japan, bring home some pieces of china that make more shew than their own, but are not so solid; and that they serve to decorate their apartments, but they never use them, because they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varnish, whether sea-green, bluish or purple, he believes to be Chinese. All the japan we have here comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are suffered to come into that empire. Possibly they may have picked it out of the porcelains brought thither every year by the Chinese, or they may have bought it at Canton. In either case, the distinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would be false in fact, and merely founded on prejudice. The result however of this

B O O K I. opinion is that what is sold here for japan is very fine china.

There is less doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer cast than that of Japan, it is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimsical. The paste is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and closer, and the china thinner. Amongst the several sorts they make in China, there is one that is very ancient; it is very coarse, very thick and very heavy. Some of this sort is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a good sound, but both want transparency. It is sold for old china, and the finest pieces are supposed to come from Japan. It was originally a better sort of earthen ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more transparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, they look brighter. The essential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a shorter paste, and is very hard and solid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four supporters, which were put to prevent its giving way in baking. By this contrivance, they have succeeded in making very large pieces of china. Those that are not of this sort, and which is called modern Chinese, are of a longer paste and finer grain, and are higher glazed, whiter and clearer. They seldom have the marks of the supporters, and their transparency has nothing glassy in it. All that is made with this paste is easily turned, so that it is visible the workman's hand has glided over it, as over a fine smooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this sort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanship and price.

A fifth sort is what we call chinese japan, because it unites the ornaments of the porcelain which is thought to come from Japan, with those that are more in the Chinese

Chinese taste. Amongst this kind of china, there is some that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white scrolls. The glazing is a true white enamel, whereas that of the other sorts is half transparent, for the Chinese varnish is never entirely so. BOOK  
I.

THE colours in general are laid on in the same manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The first and most solid of them is the blue that is extracted from smalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed or baked, so that the glazing that is put on afterwards serves as a dissolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the composition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and must first be mixed up and ground with a saline substance or calx of lead, that favours their ingress into the glazing. It is a pretty common thing for the Chinese to colour the whole of the glazing; then the colour is laid on neither over nor under, but incorporates into the glazing itself. Some very extraordinary fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. Whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great nicety in the preparation.

ALL the sorts of china we have described are made at King-to-ching, an immense town in the province of Kiamsi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. They have tried to imitate it at Pekin and other places of the empire, but have not succeeded any where, though they employed the same workmen, and used the same materials; so that they have universally given up this branch of industry, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where they make a sort of China, that is known here by the name of India china. The paste is long and yielding; but in



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general the colours, especially the blue, and the red of  
 mars, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the  
 interior parts of China. All the colours except the  
 blue, stand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on.  
 This is the only china that has purple, which has given  
 rise to that foolish notion of its being painted in Holland.  
 Most of the cups and plates and other vessels our mer-  
 chants bring home are of this manufacture, which is less  
 esteemed in China than our delft is here.

WE have endeavoured to introduce this art amongst  
 us. It has succeeded best in Saxony. Theirs is true  
 china, and probably made with very simple materials,  
 though prepared and mixed with more art than in Asia.  
 This curious preparation, together with the scarcity  
 of the materials, is no doubt what makes the Dresden  
 china so dear. As there is but one sort of paste that  
 comes from that manufacture, it has been surmised, and  
 not without some degree of probability, that the Sax-  
 ons were only in possession of their own secret, and by  
 no means of the art of making china. What seems to  
 confirm this suspicion is the great affinity between the  
 Saxon and other German china, which seems to be  
 made upon the same principle.

HOWEVER this be, it is certain no china is higher  
 glazed, smoother, better shaped, more pleasing to the  
 eye, or more solid and durable. It will resist a fierce  
 fire much longer than many of the sorts made in  
 China. The colours are finely disposed, and executed  
 in a masterly manner; none are so well adapted to the  
 glazing; they are blended with great exactness; they  
 are bright without being drowned and chilled, like most  
 of those made at Sevre.

The mention of this reminds us that we must  
 take notice of the china made in France. This, like  
 the English china, is only made with frit, that is, with  
 stones that are not fusible in themselves, but receive a  
 beginning

beginning of fusion from the mixture of a greater or lesser quantity of salt ; and accordingly it is more glassy, of a looser texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sevre, which is by far the worst of all, and always looks yellowish and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the capital hands that are employed for the patterns and the penciling. These great masters have displayed so much taste in the execution of some of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of posterity ; but in itself, this ware will never be but an object of taste, luxury and expence. The supporters will always be a principal cause of its dearness.

B O O K  
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ALL china, when it receives the last stroke of the fire, is actually in a state that has a tendency to fusion, and is soft and pliable like red hot iron. There is none but what will bend and give way when it is in that state. If the pieces when they are turned, are thicker or project more on one side than another, the strongest will infallibly bear away the weakest ; they will warp to that side, and the piece is spoiled. They guard against this inconvenience, by propping it up with bits of china made of the same paste, of different shapes, which they apply under or against the parts that project, and are most in danger of warping. As all china shrinks in baking, the substance of the props must not only be such as will shrink too, but such as will shrink neither more nor less than the piece they are intended to support. As the different pastes do not shrink alike, it follows that the props must be of the same paste as the piece that is baking.

THE softer the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it wants to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sevre china ; the paste is very costly, and very often more of it is wasted in props, than goes to the making of the piece itself. The necessity of

B Q Q K this expensive method draws on another inconvenience

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The glazing cannot be baked at the same time as the china, which therefore must go twice into the furnace. the porcelain made in China, and the best imitations of it, being of a stiffer paste, and less susceptible of vitrification, seldom want any props, and are baked ready glazed. They consequently consume much less paste, are seldom spoiled, take up less time, and less firing, and give less trouble.

SOME writers have urged in favour of the superiority of Asiatic china, that it resists fire better than ours; that all European china well melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dresden itself will melt in the foreign china. This assertion is utterly false, if taken in its full extent. Few porcelains of China will stand the fire so well as the Dresden; they spoil and bubble in the fire that bakes that made by Cont Lauragais; but that is of no consequence, or of very little. China is not intended to go back into the furnace when once it is come out, nor is it destined to bear the action of an intense fire.

It is in point of solidity that the foreign china truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property of heating quicker and with less risque, and safely bearing the sudden impression of cold or boiling hot liquors; it is by the ease with which it is moulded and baked, which is an inestimable advantage, as they can make pieces of all sizes with great ease, bake them without any risque, and as they can be afforded cheaper, they are of general use, and consequently the object of a more extensive trade.

ANOTHER great advantage of the India china is, that the same paste is very useful for making crucibles, and a thousand such implements used in other arts. These vessels not only resist longest in the fire, but communicate nothing of their substance to what is melted in them. This substance is so pure, so white, so compact  
and

and so hard, that it will hardly melt at all, and gives **BOOK**  
no tinge to any thing. **I.**

FRANCE is at the eve of enjoying all these advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in search of the secret of the Chinese, has at last made some china that is very like it. His materials have the same properties, and if they are not the very same, at least they are species of the same genus. Like the Chinese, he can make his paste long or short, and follow either his own or some other process. His china is not inferior to that of the Chinese in point of pliability, and is superior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too it takes the colours better. If he can but bring it to have as fine and as white a grain, we may very well do without the porcelain of China; but we cannot so well do without their silk.

THE annals of that empire ascribe the discovery of silk to one of the wives of the emperor Hoangti. The empresses amused themselves with breeding worms, drawing the silk, and working it. It is even said that in the interior part of the palace, there was a piece of ground which was set apart for the culture of mulberry trees. The empress, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went herself and gathered the leaves of the lower branches, that were brought down within her reach. This wise policy so much promoted this branch of industry, that the nation, which before was only clothed in skins, soon appeared dressed in silk. In a short time, perfection was added to plenty. They were indebted for this last advantage to the writings of some ingenious men, and even of some ministers, who did not think it beneath them to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

The Europeans buy silks in china.

THE art of breeding silk worms, and of spinning and weaving their silk, spread from China to India and

**B O O K** I. Persia, where it made no very rapid progress; if it had, Rome would not, at the end of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of silk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, silks were a little more known, but did not grow common. They were long considered as an article of grandeur, and reserved for the most eminent stations, and the greatest solemnities. At last Roger, king of Sicily, sent for workmen from Athens, and the culture of the mulberry tree soon extended from that island to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wished to partake of an advantage that procured so much wealth to Italy, and they attained to it after some fruitless attempts. However, from the nature of the climate, or some other cause, it has not succeeded every where alike.

The silks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin, or in tram, are all ordinary silks; but they are useful, and even necessary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require strong silk.

THE other Italian silks, those of Novi, Venice, Tuscany, Milan, Montferrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are used in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna silks were long preferred to any other. Since those of Piedmont have been improved, they justly claim the preference, as being the evenmost, the finest, and the lightest. Those of Bergamo come nearest to them.

THOUGH the Spanish silks in general are very fine, those of Valencia are by far the best. They are all fit for any kind of work; the only fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

THE French silks excel most others in Europe, and are inferior to none but those of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightness. In other respects, they are brighter coloured than those of Piedmont; and more even  
and

and stronger than those of Bergamo. Some years ago, BOOK  
I. France produced six thousand quintals of silk, which sold from fifteen to twenty one livres (from about 13*s.* to about 18*s.* 6*d.*) a pound of fourteen ounces. At the average of eighteen livres, (15*s.* 9*d.*) it produced an income of ten millions, (437,500*l.*) When the new plantations have made the progress that is expected from them, France will be eased of the annual outgoings for this article, which are still considerable.

THE variety of silks produced in Europe, has not yet enabled us to do without the Chinese. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in request for its whiteness. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature; but it is more natural to suppose that when they draw the silk, the Chinese put some ingredient into the bason, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous substances, or at least the coarsest parts. The little waste there is in this silk, compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, seems to give great weight to this conjecture.

HOWEVER this be, the Chinese silk is so inimitably white, that no other will do for blondes and gauzes. All our endeavours to substitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitless, whether we have made use of prepared or unprepared silk. The trials upon gauze have not been quite so unsuccessful. The whitest French and Italian silks have been tried, and seemed to answer pretty well, but neither the colour nor the dressing were so perfect as with the Chinese silk.

IN the last century, the Europeans drew very little silk from China. Our own succeeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in fashion. The taste that has prevailed for these forty years, and especially the last twenty-five, for  
white

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white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increased the consumption of that eastern commodity. In latter times it has amounted to eighty thousand weight a year, of which France has always taken near three fourths. This importation has increased to such a degree, that in 1766, the English alone imported a hundred and four thousand weight: as it could not be all consumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have used it for tabbies and hosiery. The stockings made of this silk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near so fine as others.

BESIDES this silk, so remarkable for its whiteness, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nankeen silk, which is the place where most of it is prepared, China produces ordinary silks, which we call Canton. As these are only fit for some kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own, which answers the same purpose, very few are imported. What the English and Dutch bring home, does not exceed five or six thousand. The manufactured silks are a much more considerable article.

THE Chinese are not less ingenious in weaving their silks than in preparing them. This does not extend to those that are mixed with gold and silver. Their artists have never known how to draw or spin these metals, and their ingenuity goes no further than rolling up their silks in gilt paper, or putting them upon the paper after they are wove. Both methods are equally bad.

THOUGH in general, men are more apt to be taken with glitter than with true excellence, we have never been tempted to buy these stuffs. We have been equally disgusted at the awkwardness of their patterns. They exhibit nothing but distorted figures, and unmeaning groups; they discover not any idea in the disposition of the lights and shades, nor any of that elegance and ease that

that appear in the works of our good artists. There is a stiffness and a want of freedom in all they do, that is displeasing to persons of any taste; all favours of their particular turn of mind, which is destitute of vivacity and elevation.

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THE only thing that makes us bear with those faults in all such of their works as represent flowers, birds or trees, is that none of those objects are raised. The figures are painted upon the silk itself with indelible colours; and yet the deception is so compleat, that all these objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

As for their plain silks, they want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind, and so are their colours, especially the green and the red. The white of their damasks has something extremely pleasing. The Chinese use for them none but the silk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half boil the woof. This method gives the damask more substance and stiffness. It has a reddish cast, without being yellow, which looks delightfully, and has not that glare that dazzles the sight. This pleasing white is likewise observable in the Chinese varnish.

VARNISH is a kind of liquid gum, of a reddish colour. That of Japan is preferable to that of Tonquin and Siam, and these are much better than that of Cambodia. The Chinese buy it at all these markets, because what several of their own provinces afford, is not sufficient for their consumption. The tree that yields this gum, is called Tsi-chu, and resembles the ash, both in the bark and the leaf. It never grows above fifteen feet, and the stem commonly measures two feet and a half. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, but is propagated in the following manner.

The Europeans buy varnished works, and paper, in China.

IN the spring when the sap of the Tsi-chu begins to show itself, they chuse the strongest shoot that grows

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out of the stem, and daub it all over with yellow earth; then wrap it round with a mat, to protect it from the impression of the air. If it strikes root quickly, they cut it off, and plant it in autumn; but if it proves backward, they put it off to another opportunity. At whatever season it is done, the young plant must be preserved from the ants, which is done by filling the hole with ashes.

THE Tsi-chu yields no varnish till it is seven or eight years old, and then it comes in summer. It distills from incisions made at different distances in the bark, and runs into a shell that is fixed at each incision. They reckon it a good crop, when they get twenty pounds of varnish in one night out of a thousand trees. This gum is so prejudicial, that those who work with it are obliged to use constant precautions to guard against its malignancy. The workmen rub their hands and faces with rape oil before they begin, and after they have done their work, and wear a mask, gloves, boots, and a breast plate.

THERE are two ways of using the varnish. The first is to rub the wood with a particular sort of oil they have in China; and as soon as it is dry, they lay on the varnish. It is so transparent that the veins of the wood are seen through it, if it is laid on but two or three times. If it is repeatedly laid on, it may be brought to shine like a looking glass. The other way is more complicated. By means of mastick, they glue a kind of pasteboard over the wood. On this smooth and solid ground they spread several layers of varnish. It must be neither too thick nor too liquid; and in this just medium the skill of the artist principally consists.

WHICH ever way the varnish is laid, on, it effectually preserves the wood from decaying. The worm can hardly get at it, and the damp not at all; and with a little care, no smell will remain in it.

THIS varnish is as pleasant, as it is solid. It will take

take gold and silver, and all the different colours. Upon it are painted figures, landscapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles; in short, nothing would be wanting, if it was not generally spoiled by the badness of the Chinese drawings.

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VARNISHING requires much pains and constant attention. The varnish must be laid on nine or ten times at least, and cannot be spread too thin. There must be a sufficient interval between the layers, that they may have time to dry. A longer time still must be allowed between the last layer and the polishing, painting and gilding. A whole summer is hardly sufficient for all this process at Nanking, whose manufactures supply the court, and the chief cities of the empire. It goes on quicker at Canton. As there is a great demand of these works for Europe, and as these Europeans will have them made their own way, and allow but a short time to complete them, they are hurried over. As the artist has not time to make them good, all his ambition is to make them pleasing to the eye. Paper is not liable to the same imperfections.

ORIGINALLY, the Chinese wrote with a steel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which being tacked together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of silk or linen, cut as long and as broad as they chose them. At last they found out the secret of making paper about sixteen hundred years ago.

It is generally thought that this paper is made with silk; but whoever is acquainted with the practical part of that art must know, that silk can never be so divided as to work it into a uniform paste. The good Chinese paper is made with cotton, and would be equal, if not preferable, to ours, if it was as durable.

THE ordinary paper, which is not intended for writing, is made of the first or second bark of the mulberry tree, the elm, the cotton tree, and chiefly of the bamboo

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bamboo. These substances, after rotting in muddy water, are buried in lime; then bleached in the sun, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paste, which is spread upon hurdles, and hardens into sheets, that measure ten or twelve feet or more. This is the paper that the Chinese use for furniture. It has a very pleasing effect by its brilliancy, and by the variety of forms into which their ingenuity has found means to turn it.

THOUGH this paper is apt to crack, to take the damp, and to be worn eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Asia, the notion of furnishing closets and making screens with it; but that taste begins to wear off. We already discard the Chinese for the use of the English paper, and shall certainly keep to that, when it has attained a higher degree of perfection. The French begin to imitate this novelty, and probably all nations will adopt it.

BESIDES the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China, ink, camphor, borax, rhubarb, gum lac, and rattans, a kind of cane that serves to make arm chairs; and formerly they brought gold.

IN Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of silver. If there was a country where it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither, to change it for silver. They would bring us back that silver, to change it with us for gold which they would again carry abroad for the same purpose. They would go on so till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the same in both countries. It was upon this principle, that we continued for a great while to send silver to China to barter it for gold. We got 45 per cent. by this traffic. It was never carried on by the charter companies; because the profit they made upon the markets was so much greater than this, as great as it may appear, that they never thought it worth their while to be concerned in it.

it. Their agents, who had not their choice, attended **BOOK**  
 to these speculations for their own profit. They pur- **I.**  
 sued them with such eagerness, that in a short time the  
 traffic did not bring in enough to be worth continuing.  
 Gold is dearer or cheaper at Canton, according to the  
 season of the year; it is much cheaper from the begin-  
 ning of February to the end of May, than the rest of  
 the year, when the road is full of foreign ships. Yet in  
 the most favourable season, no more than eighteen per  
 cent. is to be got, which is not enough to tempt any  
 body. The only agents who have not been sufferers by  
 the cessation of this trade, are those of the French com-  
 pany, who are never allowed to be concerned in it.  
 The directors reserved that profit for themselves alone.  
 Many attempted it; but Castanier was the only one  
 who acted as a capital trader. He sent goods to Mex-  
 ico; these were sold for piastras, which were carried to  
 Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to  
 China, where they were bartered for gold. That able  
 man, by this judicious circulation, had opened a track,  
 which it is surprising nobody else has since pursued.

ALL the European nations, who pass the cape of  
 Good Hope go to China. The Portuguese first landed  
 there. The Chinese gave them the town of Macao,  
 which was built upon a barren and rugged spot, on the  
 point of a little island, at the mouth of the river of Can-  
 ton, and with it, a territory of about three miles in cir-  
 cumference. They obtained the disposal of the road,  
 which is too narrow, but safe and commodious, engag-  
 ing themselves to pay to the empire all the duties to be  
 levied on the ships that should come in; and they pur-  
 chased the freedom of erecting fortifications, by engag-  
 ing to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres (1640*l.* 12*s.*  
 6*d.*) As long as the court of Lisbon maintained the so-  
 vereignty of the Indian seas, this place was a famous  
 mart. It decayed in proportion to the power of the  
 Portuguese

**BOOK** 1. Portuguese, and gradually came to nothing. Macao has no farther connection with the mother country, and has no navigation but the fitting out of three small vessels, one for Timor, and two for Goa. Till 1744, the poor remains of that once flourishing colony still enjoyed some kind of independence. The murder of a Chinese, determined the viceroy of Canton to apply to his court for a magistrate to instruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; these were the very words of his petition. The court sent a Mandarin, who took possession of the town in the name of his master. He scorned to live among foreigners, who are always held in great contempt, and fixed his residence at the distance of a league from the town.

THE Dutch met with still worse treatment about a century ago. Those republicans, who notwithstanding the ascendent they had taken over the Asiatic seas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portuguese, at last got access to their ports. Not content with the precarious footing they had got there, they attempted to erect a fort near Hoang-pon, under pretence of building a warehouse. It is said their scheme was, to make themselves masters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to lord it alike over the Chinese and foreigners who wanted to trade to Canton. The former saw through their project sooner than was consistent with their interest. They were all massacred, and it was a great while before that nation durst appear upon the coasts of China. They were seen there again about the year 1730. The first ships that landed there, came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for those of the country. The managers, wholly intent upon pleasing the council of Batavia, from whom they immediately received their orders, and from whom they expected their promotion;

motion; thought of nothing but disposing of the goods to the best advantage, and were very careless of what they took in return. The company soon found that at this rate, their sales could never stand in competition with those of their rivals. This consideration determined them to send ships directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in such commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better loadings than formerly, but not so good as those of the English.

Of all the nations that have traded to China, the Dutch have been the most constant. They had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the time when business was chiefly transacted at Emony. When it was removed to Canton, this factory still continued as before. As their company were required to export woollen drapery, they determined to keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of it. This practice, joined to the demand for tea in the English settlements, threw almost all the trade between China and Europe into their hands, towards the end of the last century. The heavy duties the government laid on that foreign consumption, at last opened the eyes of other nations, and of France in particular.

THAT monarchy had formed a particular company for that trade in 1660. A rich merchant at Rouen, named Fermanel, was at the head of the undertaking. He had computed that it could not well be carried on under a capital of 220,000 livres, (9,625*l.*) and the subscriptions amounted only to 140,000, (6,125*l.*) which occasioned the ill success of the voyage. The losses they sustained, indisposed them more than ever against a nation that was shy of foreigners, and imagined they came to corrupt their morals, and encroach upon their liberty. In vain did the Chinese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour, towards the year 1685. The

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French seldom frequent their ports. The new society formed in 1698, was not more active than the former; and they did not succeed in this trade, till it came to be united with that of the Indies, and in the same proportion.

THE Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the same time, and have acted up the same principle. The Embden company would probably have adopted it likewise, if it had subsisted long enough.

Sums laid  
out in pur-  
chases by  
the Euro-  
peans, in  
China.

THE annual purchases the Europeans make in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres; (about 1,170,500*l.*) this sum, above four fifths of which is laid out on the single article of tea, has been paid in piastres or in goods, brought by twenty-three ships. Sweden has furnished 1,935,168 livres (84,663*l.* 12*s.*) in money, and 427,500 (18,703*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) in pewter, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres (94,571*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*) in money, and 231,000 (10,106*l.* 5*s.*) in iron, lead and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000 (175,000*l.*) in money, and 4000,000 175,000 (175,000*l.*) in drapery goods. Holland, 2,735,400 (119,673*l.* 15*s.*) in money, and 44,600 (1,951*l.* 5*s.*) in woollen goods, besides 4,000,150 (175,006*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres (about 238,000*l.*) in money, 2,000,475 (above 87,500*l.*) in woollen drapery, and 3,375,000 (above 147,600*l.*) in various articles brought from different parts of the Indies. All these sums together, make a sum total of 26,754,494 livres. (about 1,170,500*l.*) We do not include in this calculation ten millions (437,500*l.*) in specie which the English have carried over and above what we have mentioned, because they were destined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a stock to trade upon in the intervals between the voyages.

It

IT is not easy to conjecture what will become of this trade. Though the Chinese are so fond of money, they seem more inclined to shut their ports against the Europeans, than to encourage them to enlarge their trade. As the spirit of the Tartars has subsided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquished nations, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their aversion from, and contempt of foreigners. They have discovered these dispositions, by the humiliating hardships they have imposed upon them, after having treated them with so much respect. The transition is but short from this precarious situation to a total expulsion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation who very possibly is secretly contriving to bring it about.

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Conjectures concerning the future state of the trade of Europe in China.

THE Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grown very fond of several Chinese productions. They must suppose that the impossibility of procuring them from the first hand would not hinder the consumption. If we were all excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their shipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under the necessity of carrying them to Java or to the Philippines, and then we must buy them of one of the two nations to whom those colonies belong. The competition of the Spaniards is so insignificant, that the Dutch might be very sure of engrossing the whole trade. It is dreadful to suspect those republicans of any thing so base, but it is well known they have been guilty of greater villanies for smaller interests.

If the ports of China were once shut, it is probable they would be so for ever. The obstinacy of that nation would never suffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they could be compelled to it. What could be done against a nation at the distance of eight



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thousand leagues? No government is so destitute of common sense as to imagine that our men, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, would venture to attempt conquests in a country defended by an innumerable people, though we should suppose them ever so cowardly, as they have never yet tried their strength against the Europeans. All the mischief we could do them, would be the intercepting of their navigation, which is the least of their concerns, and neither affects their subsistence nor their conveniencies.

THIS fruitless revenge would even be practicable but for a very little while. The ships employed in this piratical cruise, would be driven from those latitudes one part of the year by the monsoons, and the other part by the storms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the seas of China.

HAVING thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the East India trade, it will not be improper to examine three questions which naturally arise upon the subject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it is advisable to continue that trade. 2. Whether great settlements are necessary to carry it on with success. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of charter companies. We shall discuss these points with the impartiality of a man, who has no other concern in the cause, but the interest of mankind.

Whether  
Europe  
should con-  
tinue its  
trade with  
India.

WHOEVER considers Europe as making but one body, whose members are united in one common interest, or at least in the same kind of interest, will not hesitate to pronounce whether her connections with Asia are advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholesome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more splendid furniture, some new pleasures, and a more comfortable existence. Such powerful incentives

centives have had the same influence upon those nations, who, from their situation, their activity, their good fortune in making discoveries, and the boldness of their enterprizes, are able to fetch these delights from their very source; as upon those who are unable to procure them, but through the channel of the maritime states, whose navigation disperses their superfluities all over the continent. So strong has been the passion of the Europeans for these foreign luxuries, that neither the highest duties, nor the strictest prohibitions, nor the severest penalties, have been able to check it. Every government, after having in vain tried to controul this inclination, which only grew stronger by opposition, has been forced at last to yield to it, though their prejudices, which were strengthened by time and custom, made them consider this compliance as detrimental to the stability, and to the general welfare of nations.

BUT the time was come, when it became necessary to put an end to this tyranny. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it is beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to those of our own? Universal society exists as well for the common interest of the whole, as by the mutual interest of all the individuals that compose it. An increase of felicity must, therefore, result from a general intercourse. Commerce is the exercise of that valuable liberty to which nature has called all men, which is the source of their happiness, and indeed of their virtues. Men are never so truly free as in trade; nor is any thing so conducive to freedom as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from it is, that as trade produces liberty, so it contributes to preserve it.

WE must be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine that in order to make him happy, he must be debarred from enjoyments. We grant that the being accustomed to want the conveniencies of life, lessens

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the sum of our misfortunes; but by retrenching more on our pleasures than on our sorrows, we are rather brought to a state of insensibility than of happiness. If nature has given man a heart too susceptible of tender impressions; if his imagination is ever employed in search of objects to gratify his restless and involuntary desires; he should be left at full liberty to pursue the wide circle of enjoyments. Let reason teach him to be satisfied with such things as he can enjoy, and not to grieve for those that are out of his reach; this is true wisdom. But to require that reason should make us voluntarily reject, what it is in our power to add to our present enjoyments, is to contradict nature, and to subvert the first principles of sociability.

How shall we persuade man to be content with the scanty pittance that moralists think proper to allow him? How shall we ascertain the limits of what is necessary, which varies according to his situation in life, his attainments, and his desires? No sooner had his industry made the means of procuring a subsistence more easy, but he spent his time in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his enjoyments. Thence sprang all his factitious wants. The discovery of a new species of sensations excited a desire of preserving them, and a propensity to find out others. The perfection of one art, introduced the knowledge of several others. The success of a war, occasioned by hunger or revenge, suggested the notion of conquest. Navigation put men under a necessity of destroying one another, or of uniting together. It was the same with commercial treaties between nations parted by the seas, as with social compacts between men scattered upon the same earth. All those connections began by combat, and ended by associations. War and navigation have intermingled societies and colonies. Hence men came to be bound together by dependence or intercourse. The refuse of all nations

nations mixing together during the outrages of war, are refined and polished by commerce. The intent of commerce is, that all nations should consider themselves as one great society, whose members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the rest. The object and the means of commerce equally suppose a desire and a freedom, agreed upon by all nations, to make all exchanges that may be suitable to both. The desire and the liberty of enjoyment, are the only two springs of industry, and the only two principles of sociability among men.

THOSE who blame the trade of Europe with India have only the following reasons to alledge against a universal and free intercourse: that it is attended with a considerable loss of men; that it checks the progress of our industry; and that it lessens our stock of money. These objections are easily obviated.

As long as every man shall be free to chuse a profession, and to make what use he pleases of his faculties, we need not be anxious about his fate. As in a state of freedom, every thing has its proper value, no man will expose himself to any danger, without expecting a proportionable equivalent. In a well regulated society, every individual is at liberty to do what best suits his inclination and his interest, provided it is not inconsistent with the properties and liberties of others. A law that should prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to starve; and would deprive society of numberless comforts. We need not pass the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; and without going out of Europe, we may find many professions that are far more destructive to the human race, than the navigation to India. If the dangers of the sea carry off some of our men, let us give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be so much increased, that we shall

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be better able to spare those self-devoted victims that are swallowed up by the sea. To this we may add, that most of those who perish in long voyages, are lost by accidental causes, which might easily be prevented by wholesomer diet, and a more regular life. But if men will add to the vices of their own climate and manners, the destructive ones of the climates where they land, it is no wonder if they cannot resist these united principles of destruction.

EVEN supposing that the India trade should cost Europe as many men as it is said to do, are we very sure that this loss is not made up by the labours to which it gives rise, and which cherish and increase our population? The men who go abroad, certainly leave their places vacant upon land, to be filled up by others yet unborn. Whoever casts an attentive eye on the multitude of inhabitants that cover the confined territory of maritime nations, will be convinced that it is not the navigation to Asia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to population, and that on the contrary, it alone may, perhaps, be said to balance all the causes of decay of the human race. Let us now endeavour to invalidate the opinion of those, who apprehend the India trade interferes with our industry at home.

ADMITTING it true that it had put a stop to some of our labours, it has given rise to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of sugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are kept up by India silk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia weaves Pekins superior to those of China; if Switzerland imitates the muslins and worked calicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if so many stuffs, formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our best artists, are we not indebted to India for all these advantages?

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LET us proceed further, and put the case that we are not beholden to Asia for any of our improvements, the consumption we make of their commodities cannot be prejudicial to our industry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own manufactures exported to America. I sell a hundred livres (about 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) worth of linen to a Spaniard, and send that money to the East Indies. Another sends the same quantity of the linen itself. We both bring home tea. In the main we are both doing the same thing; we are changing a hundred livres (about 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by a double, and the other by a single process. Suppose the Spaniard, instead of giving me money, had given me goods that were saleable in India, I should not have injured our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very same as if I had carried our own produce thither? I sail from Europe with national manufactures; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piastres; I carry those piastres to the Indies; I bring home things that are either useful or pleasing. Have I confined the industry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the consumption of its produce; and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. But what misleads the opposers of the India trade is, that the piastres are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Asia. The last point to be considered is, that whether the money is or is not employed as the intermediate mark of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Asia, and bartered goods for goods, my industry for their industry, my produce for their produce.

BUT, it is objected by some discontented men, that India has at all times swallowed up all the treasures of the universe. Ever since chance has taught men the use  
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of metals, say these censurers, they have never ceased to search for them. Pale and restless Avarice has taken her stand among the barren rocks, where nature had wisely concealed those insidious treasures. Since they were digged out of the bowels of the earth, they have constantly been spreading over its surface, from whence, notwithstanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of some other nations, they have disappeared from Europe, Africa, and some parts of Asia. India hath swept them all away. Money still goes the same way; it flows incessantly from west to east, and there it fixes, and never finds its way back again. It is for India then, that the mines of Peru have been opened, and it is for its inhabitants that the Europeans have been guilty of so many crimes in America. Whilst the Spaniards are draining the blood of their slaves in Mexico to dig silver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take still more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potosi should be exhausted, we must go and look for it on the coast of Malabar where we have sent it. When we have drained India of pearls and perfumes, we shall, perhaps, go sword in hand, and recover the money it hath cost us. So shall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and silver into other climes, where avarice and superstition will again bury them under ground.

THESE complaints are not altogether groundless. Ever since the other parts of the world have opened a communication with India, they have constantly exchanged gold and silver for arts and commodities. Nature has lavished upon the Indians the little they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries, and their religion gives them an abhorrence from some things that we feed upon. As their customs, manners and government have continued the same in the midst of the revolutions that have overturned their country, we must not expect they should ever alter. India ever was, and ever will

will be what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods sent out. But before we exclaim against the abuse of this trade, we should follow its gradual progress, and see what is the result.

FIRST, it is certain our gold does not go to India. They have gold of their own; besides a constant supply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eastern coast of Africa and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by way of Arabia and Bassora; and from Persia, which comes both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous mass is never increased by the gold we fetch from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. In short, we are so far from carrying gold to Asia, that for a long while we carried silver to China to barter it against gold.

EVEN the silver they get from us is by no means so considerable as may be imagined, from the immense quantity of India goods we bring home. Their annual sale has of late years amounted to a hundred and fifty millions, (6,562,500*l.*) Supposing they had cost but half of what they sold for, seventy-five millions (3,281,250*l.*) must have been sent to India to purchase them, besides what must have been sent over for our settlements. We shall not scruple to affirm, that for some time past, all Europe put together has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions (1,050,000*l.*) a year. Eight millions (350,000*l.*) are sent from France, six millions (262,500*l.*) from Holland, three millions (131,250*l.*) from England, three millions (131,250*l.*) from Denmark, two millions (87,500*l.*) from Sweden, and two millions (87,500*l.*) from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable if we consider, that though in general India is in no want  
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either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet they receive it from us, in iron, lead, copper, woollen goods, and other lesser articles, to the full amount of one fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS method of payment receives an accession from the produce of the European settlements in Asia. The most considerable by far are those of the spice islands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the English.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India, must likewise be deducted from the exportation of our money. Those industrious men deposit their stock in the coffers of their own, or some other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return sooner or later. So that a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

SOME events happen too from time to time, that bring the treasures of the east into our hands. It is undeniable that by the revolutions in the Decan and Bengal, and by disposing of thrones at pleasure, the French and the English have got possession of the wealth accumulated for so many ages. It is evident that those sums, joined to others less considerable, must have kept a great deal of money at home, which must otherwise have gone to Asia.

THAT rich part of the world has even restored to us some of the treasure we had poured into it. Every body has heard of Kouli-kan's expedition to India, but it is not generally known that he brought away upwards of 2,000,000,000 (87,500,000*l.*) in specie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone, contained inestimable and innumerable treasures. The presence chamber was lined with plate gold; the cieling glittered with diamonds. Twelve pillars of massy gold, adorned with pearls and precious stones, made three sides of the throne; the canopy represented a peacock, with his wings extended to overshadow the monarch. The diamonds,

monds, rubies, emeralds, and all the sparkling gems that composed that curious piece of workmanship, perfectly imitated the colours of that beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is gone back to India. Much of the treasure brought to Persia at the conquest of the Mogul, must have been buried under ground during the subsequent wars; but the several branches of commerce must certainly have brought some to Europe through such well-known channels, that it is needless to specify them.

ADMITTING that none of these riches have reached us, the cause of those who condemn the trade of India, because it is carried on with coin, will be no gainer by it, which is easily proved. Money is not produced in our fields; it is the produce of America, which is sent us in exchange for our own. If Europe did not send it to Asia, America would soon be unable to send any more to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would so reduce its value, that the nations who bring it to us, could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty sols, (10*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .), rises to a pistole, (16*s.* 9*d.*), the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country where silver grows. It costs them money to work the mines. When this expence shall have increased to ten times that sum, and the price of silver is still the same, the business of working in the mines, will be more expensive than profitable to the owners, who of course will drop it. No more gold and silver will come from the new world to the old, and the Americans will be forced to forsake their richest mines, as they have gradually done the poor ones. This event would have taken place before now, if they had not found a way of disposing of about 3,000,000,000 (131,250,000*l.*) in Asia, by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Philippines. Therefore this profusion of money poured into India, which so many prejudiced persons have hitherto

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An inquiry whether it is necessary, that the Europeans should have large establishments in India, in order to carry on the trade.

ther to considered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by supporting the only manufacture she can boast of; and to other nations who without it could never have disposed of their produce, or of the fruits of their industry. Having thus justified the Indian trade, we shall next proceed to enquire whether it has been conducted by the principles of sound policy.

ALL the nations in Europe who have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Asia. The Portuguese, who led the way to those wealthy regions, first set us the example of a boundless ambition. Not content with having made themselves masters of the islands in which the choicest productions were to be found, and erected fortresses wherever they were wanted to secure to themselves the navigation of the east, they also aspired to the authority of giving laws to the Malabar, which, being divided into several petty sovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to submit to the yoke.

THE Spaniards did not at first shew more moderation; even before they had completed the conquest of the Philippines, which were to be the center of their power, they strove to extend their dominion further. If they have not since subdued the rest of that immense Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we must look for the cause of their inaction in the treasures of America, which confined their pursuits, though they did not satisfy their desires.

THE Dutch robbed the Portuguese of their best posts on the continent, and drove them out of the spice islands. They have kept those possessions, and some later acquisitions, only by establishing a form of government, less faulty than that of the nations on whose ruins they were rising.

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THE French took such slow and irresolute steps, that it was long before they could form or execute any great projects. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they availed themselves of the subversion of the Mogul authority, to usurp the dominion of Coromandel. By artful negotiations, they conquered or obtained a more extensive territory than any European power had ever possessed in Indostan.

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THE English, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandize themselves till they had stripped the French of their acquisitions, and till no rival nation could contend with them. The certainty of having none but the natives to deal with, determined them to fall upon Bengal. It was the province of all India, which afforded most commodities fit for the markets of Asia and Europe, and was likely to consume most of their manufactures; and also, that which their flag could best protect, having the advantage of a great river. They have conquered, and they flatter themselves they shall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

THEIR successes, and those of the French, have astonished all nations. It is easy to conceive how solitary and defenceless islands that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been subdued. But it is astonishing to the last degree, that five or six hundred Europeans should in our days have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mahometans, mostly skilled in the art of war. These strange scenes however ought not to appear surprising after what we had seen before.

THE Portuguese had scarcely begun to appear in the east, when a few ships and a few soldiers subverted whole kingdoms. A small number of factories they established, and of forts they erected, were sufficient to crush the powers of India. When they ceased to be oppressed by the first conquerors, they were so by those who expelled and succeeded them. The history of those delightful regions,

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regions, was no longer the history of the natives, but that of their tyrants. But what strange people must these have been, who never could learn wisdom in the school of adversity and experience; who tamely surrendered to their common enemy; who were continually defeated, and yet never knew how to repulse a few adventurers, thrown up as it were out of the sea, upon their coasts? They were so constantly the dupes and the victims of those who attacked them, that one would almost be tempted to think they were not of the same species. The causes of this unaccountable pusillanimity shall be the subject of our next inquiry, and we shall begin by despotism.

ALL nations must necessarily lose their virtue, their courage and their love of independence, in proportion as they depart from the original state of nature; and it is reasonable to believe that the southern nations of Asia having been first collected into societies, must have been the earliest exposed to despotism. Such has been the progress of all associations from the beginning of the world. Another truth equally evident from history is, that all arbitrary power hastens its own destruction, and that revolutions will restore liberty sooner or later, as they are more or less rapid. Few countries, except the Indostan, but have some time or other recovered their rights, when once they had lost them. Tyrants have fallen a hundred times, but tyranny has always stood its ground.

CIVIL slavery has been the consequence of political slavery. The Indian is not master of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his agents. He is not master of his own understanding, he is debarred from all studies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed such as tend to enslave him. He is not master of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the sovereign, and it is well if the labourer can earn enough to subsist himself

self and family. He is not master of his own industry: every artist who has had the misfortune to discover some abilities, is in danger of being doomed to serve the monarch, his lieutenants, or some rich man who has purchased a right to employ him as he pleases. He is not master of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground, to secure it from the rapacious hand of power, and leaves it there at his death, foolishly imagining it will be of service to him in the next world. No doubt this absolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is encompassed on all sides, must subdue his spirit, and render him incapable of those generous sacrifices that courage requires.

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THE climate of Indostan is another impediment to these magnanimous exertions. The sloth it inspires is an invincible obstacle to great revolutions, and vigorous oppositions so common in the northern regions. The body and the mind equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of slavery. In the second, or at furthest in the third generation, the Tartars, the Turks, the Persians, and even the Europeans, contract the listlessness of the Indians. These natural influences might certainly be conquered by religious or moral institutions; but the superstitions of the country are strangers to such exalted views. They never promise future rewards to the generous patriot who falls in his country's cause. Whilst they advise, and sometimes command suicide, by the allurements of future delights, they strictly forbid the shedding of blood.

THIS was a necessary consequence of the doctrine of transmigration, which must inspire its followers with constant and universal benevolence. They are in continual fear of hurting their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man be a soldier when he can say, perhaps, the elephant or the horse I am going to knock down may contain my father's soul; perhaps,

B. O. O. K. I. the enemy I am going to slay was formerly the head of my family? Thus in the Indies, religion encourages cowardice, the offspring of despotism and of the climate: the manners of the people contribute still more to increase it.

In every country, the passion of love is the ruling passion, but it is not pursued with the same eagerness in every climate. The northern nations indulge it with decency and moderation; whereas the southern ones give a loose to it with unbounded licentiousness. The policy of princes has sometimes turned this propensity to the advantage of society; but the lawgivers of the Indies seem to have had nothing in view but to increase the fatal influences of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the last conquerors of those regions, have still surpassed them. Love is to them but a shameful and destructive debauchery, consecrated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indostan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is answerable to their dissolute manners. We shall mention some particulars, taken from the writings of an English officer, remarkable for his military exploits in those parts.

THE soldiers make up the smallest part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his wife, his children, and two servants, one to look after his horse, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune and their rank. The sovereign himself, when he takes the field, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the necessities of war, carries along with him his seraglio, his elephants, his court, and almost all the inhabitants of his capital. The necessity of providing for the wants, the fancies and the luxury of this strange multitude, must naturally form a kind of town in the midst of the army, full of magazines and unnecessary articles.

articles. The motions of such an unwieldy mass cannot but be very slow. There is great confusion in their marches, and in all their operations. However abstemious the Indians, and even the Moguls may be, there must often be a want of provisions, and famine brings on contagious distempers, and a dreadful mortality.

THESE distempers seldom carry off any but recruits. Though in general, the inhabitants of Indostan affect a great passion for military glory, they are not fond of the profession. They who have been so successful in battle as to obtain honourable titles, are excused from serving for some time; and there are few that do not avail themselves of this privilege. The retreat of these veterans reduces the army to a despicable assemblage of soldiers, levied in haste in the several provinces of the empire, who are utterly unacquainted with discipline.

THE manner in which these troops live, is answerable to so faulty a constitution. At night they eat a very great quantity of rice; and after supper, they take some drugs that lay them fast asleep. Notwithstanding this bad habit, they place no guard about their camp to prevent their being surprised; nor can any thing prevail upon a soldier to rise early, for the execution of projects that require the greatest dispatch.

THE birds of prey, with which they are always plentifully provided, regulate their operations. If they find them heavy or benumbed, it is a bad omen, and prevents their marching out to battle: if they are fierce and angry, they prepare for battle, whatever reasons they might have for delaying it. This superstition, together with the observance of lucky and unlucky days, decides the fate of the best concerted projects.

THEY observe no order in their marches. Every soldier goes on as he likes, and only follows the bulk of the corps he belongs to. He is frequently seen carry-



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ing his provisions upon his head, together with the utensils for dressing them; whilst his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by several children. If a foot soldier has any relations or business in the enemy's army, he will quietly go there, and return to join his colours without meeting with the least opposition.

THE action is no better conducted than the preparatives to it. The cavalry, in which consists the whole strength of an Indian army, as the infantry are held in great contempt, fight tolerably with the sword and spear, but can never stand the fire of cannon or musquet. They are afraid of losing their horses, which are mostly Arabian, Persian or Tartarian, and are their whole fortune. Those who belong to this corps are well respected and well paid, and are so fond of their horses, that sometimes they will go in mourning for them.

THE Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own, though they neither know how to bring it along, nor how to make use of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are mostly of a prodigious size, and rather prevent than assist the gaining of a victory.

THOSE who are ambitious of being distinguished intoxicate themselves with opium, imagining that it warms the blood, and qualifies them for heroic actions. In this state of intoxication, their dress and impotent rage, make them bear a greater resemblance to fanatical women than to resolute men.

THE prince who commands these despicable troops, always rides on an elephant richly caparisoned, where he is at once the general and the standard of the whole army, whose eyes are fixed upon him. If he flies, he is slain; the whole machine is destroyed; the several corps disperse, or go over to the enemy.

THIS

THIS description which we might have enlarged BOOK  
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upon without exaggeration, confirms the probability of our successes in Indostan. Many Europeans themselves, judging of what might be done in the inland parts, by what has been done along the coasts, imagine we might without rashness undertake the conquest of the whole country. The circumstance that makes them so confident is, that in places where no enemy could harass them in the rear, nor intercept the expected succours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undisciplined and cowardly armies; weak princes jealous of each other, and always at war with their neighbours, or their own subjects. They do not consider, that if they were to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all perish before they had got half way. They would be spent with the excessive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberless diseases, want of provision, and a thousand other causes of inevitable death, even though no troops should harass them.

WE will suppose, however, that ten thousand European soldiers had actually overrun and ravaged India from one end to the other; what would be the consequence? Would these forces be sufficient to secure the conquest, to keep every nation, every province, every district in order; and if this number is not sufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be necessary for this purpose.

Let us suppose that the government was firmly established, this would scarcely add any advantage to the situation of the conquering party. The revenues of Indostan, will be spent in Indostan itself. The European power that has conceived this project of usurpation, would have nothing left, but a large vacant and unpopulated space, and the disgrace of having pursued chimerical ideas.

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THIS, indeed, is now an useless question, since the Europeans themselves have made their success in Indostan more difficult than ever. By associating the natives to their mutual jealousies, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them up to arms and discipline. This impolitic conduct has opened the eyes of the sovereigns of those countries; whose ambition has been excited to establish regular troops. Their cavalry moves in better order; and their infantry, which was always considered in so despicable a light, has now acquired the firmness of our battalions. A numerous and well ordered artillery has defended their camps, and protected their attacks. The armies, better composed, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

THIS change which might have been foreseen had we not been blinded by temporary interest, may in time become so considerable, as wholly to prevent our attempting any further conquests in Indostan, and possibly we may lose those we have already made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we shall next take into consideration.

WHEN the Europeans first began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many small states, some of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and some by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occasion of continual wars. Besides the wars between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every sovereign and his subjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who to ingratiate themselves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. These barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by distressing and vexing the inhabitants. Their extortions were a means of keeping their places, in a country where he is always in the right who has most to give.

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FROM this anarchy and these violent proceedings BOOK  
I. we judged that to settle a safe and permanent commerce, we must put it under the protection of arms; and we fortified our factories. In process of time, jealousy, which divides the European nations in the Indies, as it does every where else, exposed them to more considerable expences. Each of these foreign nations thought it necessary to augment their forces, lest they should be overpowered by their rivals.

OUR dominion, however, extended no further than our own fortresses. Goods were brought thither from the inland parts, peaceably enough, or at least without insuperable difficulties. Even after the conquests of Kouli-kan had plunged the north of Indostan into confusion, the coast of Coromandel enjoyed its former tranquillity. But the death of Nizami Muluc, Souba of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet fully extinguished.

THE disposal of those immense spoils, naturally belonged to the court of Dehly; but the weakness of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to dispute their father's treasure. To supplant each other, they had recourse alternately to arms, to treachery, to poison, and to assassinations. Most of the adventurers they engaged in their animosities and crimes, perished during these horrid transactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who sometimes took part with one, and sometimes with another, and often had troops in all parties, seemed to bid fair for reaping the benefit of this anarchy, and invading the sovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their interest to oppose this deep but secret design, and they alledge the following reasons in their defence.

The Marattas, say they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or

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civil right, and carry desolation wherever they go. The most populous countries are turned into a desert, at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have subdued, nothing is to be seen but confusion, and all the manufactures are destroyed.

THE Europeans, who were strongest on the coast of Coromandel, thought such neighbours would utterly ruin their trade, and they could never venture to send money by their couriers to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be robbed by this banditti. The desire of preventing this evil, which must ruin their fortunes, and rob them of the fruit of their settlements, suggested to their agents the idea of a new system.

THEY gave out that in the present situation of Indostan, it was impossible to keep up useful connections without the protection of an army, and a military establishment. That at so great a distance from the mother country, the expence could not possibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever so great. That therefore it was absolutely necessary to procure sufficient possessions to answer those enormous calls, and consequently that the possessions must not be small ones.

THIS argument, probably contrived by insatiable greediness and boundless ambition, and which the too common passion for conquest found to be a very weighty one, may, perhaps, be a mere sophism. A variety of physical, natural, moral and political reasons may be urged in opposition to it. We shall only insist upon one, which is a matter of fact. From the Portuguese, who first attempted to aggrandize themselves in India, down to the English, who closed the fatal list of usurpers, not one acquisition, great or small, except Bengal and the spice islands, has ever paid the expence of taking and keeping it up. The larger the possessions, the more they have proved chargeable to the ambitious

ambitious power that had them, by whatever means they acquired them. BOOK  
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THIS will always be the case. Every nation that has obtained a large territory, will be desirous of keeping it. They will think there is no safety but in fortified places, and will multiply them without end. That warlike appearance will frighten away the husbandman and the artist, who will not expect to live peaceably. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will justly be afraid of falling a prey to a merchant turned conqueror. In consequence of this, they will be devising means to ruin an oppressor, whom they had admitted into their harbours, with no other view than to increase their own treasures and power. If they enter into a treaty with him, they will sign it, swearing in their hearts the destruction of their new ally. Falshood will be the basis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to dissemble, the more time they will have had to whet the dagger destined to stab their enemy.

THE well-grounded fear of these perfidies will oblige the usurpers to be always upon their guard, and to maintain a force sufficient to repel their attempts. If they must be defended by Europeans, what a consumption of men for the mother country! What an expence to raise them, to send them over, to maintain and to recruit them! If, from a principle of oeconomy, they content themselves with the Indian soldiery, what can be expected from a confused rabble, whose expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and habitually end in a shameful and precipitate flight. Their moral and natural sentiments are so loose, that even the defence of their gods and their own households, could never inspire the boldest among them with any thing beyond a few transient fits of intrepidity. It is not very likely that foreign interests, ruinous to their country, should quicken their inactive and corrupt souls, or raise any degree

**BOOK** I. **I.** gree of spirit in their debased minds; is it not rather to be expected that they will be ever ready to betray an odious cause, in which they find no immediate and lasting advantage?

To these inconveniencies will be added a spirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of the most profound peace, will fall little short of the devastations of war. The agents intrusted with those remote concerns, will be inclined to make rapid fortunes. The slow and regular profits of trade, they will think beneath their notice, and they will hasten revolutions that will lay lacks of roupées at their feet. Their audaciousness will have done infinite mischief, before it can be controuled by authority, at the distance of six thousand leagues. The reformers will have no power against millions, or they will come too late to prevent the fall of an edifice built on a sandy foundation.

THIS result makes it needless to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If these great acquisitions are hurtful, the treaties made to procure them cannot be rational. If merchants are wise, they will forego the rage of conquest, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Asia.

THE court of Dehly will finally sink under the weight of intestine divisions, or fortune will raise up a prince capable of restoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become despotic. The empire will be divided into many independent states, or it will obey but one master. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become a ruling power; but the Europeans have nothing to do with these revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indostan, the Indians will go on weaving and printing, and we shall go on buying their callicoes: the rest is a point we are not concerned in.

It would be in vain to alledge, that the spirit which has always prevailed in those parts has forced us to depart from the common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coasts; that our situation unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that if we keep too much to ourselves, it is the ready way to be undone. These fears will appear groundless to sensible people, who know that a war in those distant regions must be still more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives, and that the consequence will be, that we must either subdue the whole, which is scarce possible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to keep up our connections.

THE love of order would even make it desirable to extend these pacific views, and far from thinking that great possessions are necessary, we do not despair of being able, in time, to do without fortified posts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though crushed under the severe burden of despotism. The nations who traded with them of old, always praised them for their candour and honesty. That part of the world is now a state of confusion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has sowed discord every where, and our rapaciousness has inspired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, usurpers and oppressors, lavish of blood, and greedy of riches. This is the character we have acquired in the east. Our examples have increased the number of their national vices, at the same time that we have taught them to be in guard against ours.

If we had acted among the Indians upon honest principles; if we had shewn them that mutual advantage is the basis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation, and manufactures by exchanges alike advantageous



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advantageous to them and to us; we should insensibly have gained their hearts. If we had fortunately taken care to preserve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We should have succeeded so far as to have lived amongst them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our settlements for our mutual interests. Every one of our establishments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a sure protection. Our situation in India is the consequence of our profligacy, and of the sanguinary systems we have introduced. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, because all our actions have shewn that we did not think ourselves under any ties with respect to them.

THIS state of perpetual contention is irksome to most of the Asiatic nations, and they ardently wish for a change. The disorder of our affairs must have made us join in this wish. If we are all in the same dispositions, and if one common interest really inclines us to peace and harmony, the best way to attain this desirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations who trade to India, should agree among themselves to maintain a neutrality in those remote seas, which should never be interrupted by the disturbances, that so frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once consider ourselves, as members of one great commonwealth, we should not want those forces which make us odious abroad, and ruin us at home. But as our present spirit of discord will not permit us to expect that such a change can soon take place, it remains only that we now consider, whether Europe ought still to carry on the India trade by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

If

If this question were to be decided upon general principles, it would be easily answered. If we ask whether, in a state, which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the answer is so plain as to leave no room for discussion. It would be unnatural, that subjects who share alike the burden and public expences of civil society, should not be alike partakers of the benefits arising from the compact that unites them; they would have cause to complain, that they sustain all the inconveniences of the institution, and are deprived of the benefits they expected to receive from it.

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Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by exclusive charters.

ON the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with these ideas of justice. It is well known that freedom is the very soul of commerce, and that nothing else can bring it to perfection. It is well known, that competition awakens industry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet for upwards of a century, the practice has constantly been contradictory to these principles.

ALL the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by exclusive companies; and it must be confessed, that this practice is plausible, because it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations should have been under a mistake for above a hundred years on so important a point, and that neither experience nor argument should have undeceived them. We must conclude therefore that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously asserted the necessity of such limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions, have overshot the mark, and are equally distant from the truth.

EVER since this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very simple one; it has

**B-O O K** has always been supposed that an India company must, necessarily be exclusive, and that its existence was essentially connected with its privilege. Hence the advocates for freedom have asserted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons against charters prove nothing against companies, and that the circumstances which make it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful association, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only with particular causes, inasmuch that the company may exist without the charter, we shall then have traced the source of the common error, and found out the solution of the difficulty.

LET us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions? It is the climate, the produce, the distance of places, the form of government, the genius and manners of the people who live under it. In the India trade, we must go six thousand miles off to fetch the commodities which those countries afford; we must get there at a certain season, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the owners must wait these two years for their returns. This is the first and a very material circumstance.

THE nature of a government in which there is neither safety nor property will not permit the people to keep any public markets, or to lay up any stores. Let us represent to ourselves men who are depressed and corrupted by despotism, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing by themselves; and on the other hand,

hand, nature more fruitful in her gifts, than power is rapacious, supplying a slothful people with food sufficient for their wants and their desires; and we shall wonder that any industry should be found in the Indies. And indeed we may safely say, that hardly any thing would be manufactured there, if we did not go and encourage the workmen with money in our hands, or if we did not take care to bespeak the goods we want, a year before hand. One third of the money is paid at the time of bespeaking the work, another when it is half done, and the rest on the delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment results a wide difference, both in the price and in the quality of the goods; but hence results likewise the necessity of always having a stock in hand; so that it remains out a year the longer, that is, three years instead of two. This is an alarming circumstance for a private man, especially if we consider the largeness of the stock that is requisite for such undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the risques are immense, they cannot be supported without bringing home compleat cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres, (about 54,700*l.* on an average,) at prime cost in the Indies. Where shall we find merchants, or even men of fortune, who can afford to advance such a sum to be reimbursed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among those who might have the power, scarce any would have the will. If we consult experience, we shall find that men of moderate fortunes only, are the persons who are inclined to run great risks, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is possessed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and enjoy it with safety. Not that riches can quench the thirst after them; on the contrary, they are often the occasion of it; but at the  
same

**B O O K** same time they furnish a thousand means of gratification  
 I. without either trouble ~~to~~ danger. This opens to our  
 view the necessity of entering into associations, where  
 a number of men will not scruple to be concerned, be-  
 cause every individual will venture but a small part of his  
 fortune, and will rate the measure of his profits upon  
 the united stock of the whole society. This necessity  
 will appear still more evident if we consider how the  
 business of buying and selling is managed in India, and  
 what precautions it requires.

To contract beforehand for a cargo, above fifty dif-  
 ferent agents must be employed, who are dispersed in  
 different parts, at the distance of three, four and five  
 hundred leagues from each other. When the work is  
 done, it must be examined and measured, otherwise the  
 goods would soon be found faulty from the dishonesty of  
 the workmen; a vice they are but too much addicted to  
 from the nature of their government, and from the in-  
 fluence of those various crimes of which the Europe-  
 ans have set them the example for these three centuries  
 past.

AFTER all these details, there are still other opera-  
 tions remaining not less necessary to be done. They  
 must employ whitsters, men to beat the linens, packers,  
 and even bleaching grounds, with pools of water fit for  
 the purpose. It would certainly be very difficult for in-  
 dividuals, to attend and to observe all these precautions;  
 but supposing that by dint of industry it might be  
 effected, it could not be carried on any longer than  
 each of them could keep up a continued trade, and  
 regularly ship off fresh cargoes. All these particulars  
 are not to be executed in a short time, and not  
 without established connections. Every private man,  
 therefore, should be able to fit out a ship annually  
 during three years, that is, to disburse four millions  
 of

of livres, (175,000*l.*). This is evidently impossible, BOOK  
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and it is plain that such an undertaking is only to be  
compassed by a society.

BUT, perhaps, some houses may be established in India, to carry through the preparatory business, and to keep cargoes in readiness for the ships that are to be sent off to Europe.

THIS establishment of trading houses at six thousand leagues from the mother country, with the immense stock that would be requisite to pay the weavers beforehand, seems to be a visionary scheme, inconsistent with reason and experience. Can it be seriously imagined that any merchants who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will transmit it to Asia to purchase a stock of muslins, in expectation of ships that, perhaps, may never arrive, or if they should, may be but few in number, or may not be able to purchase? On the contrary, we see that every European who has made a small fortune in India, is intent upon returning home, and instead of trying to increase it by the easy means that private trade offers in those parts, as well as the service of the companies, they all wish to come and enjoy it quietly at home.

If more proofs and instances were wanting, we need but attend to what passes in America. If we could suppose that commerce, and the hopes of the profits arising from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be to go and settle in that part of the world, which is much nearer than Asia, and where they would find the laws and manners of Europe. It might naturally be supposed that the merchants should buy up the sugars beforehand of the planters, and keep them in readiness to be delivered to the European ships as soon as they arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange,

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which they would afterwards sell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants settled in America are no more than commissaries or factors, who transact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans, but are so little in a condition to carry on a brisk trade on their own account, that when a ship has not met with an opportunity of disposing of her lading, it is left in trust, on the account of the captain, in the hands of the commissary to whom it was consigned. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practised in America, would still be less so in Asia, where a larger stock would be wanted, and greater difficulties must be encountered. Add to this, that the supposed establishment of trading houses in India would not supersede the necessity of societies in Europe; because it would be equally necessary to disburse twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres (about 60,000*l.* on an average) for the fitting out of every ship, which could never return into the stock till the third year at soonest.

THIS necessity being once proved in every possible case, it is manifest that the trade of India is of such a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own bottom, or carry it on by themselves, and without the help of a great number of associates. Having demonstrated the necessity of these societies, the next thing to be proved is, that their interest and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the same company.

THIS proposition depends upon two principal reasons: the danger of competition in the purchases and sales, and the necessity of assortments.

THE competition of buyers and sellers reduces the commodities to their just value. When the competition of sellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods  
sell

sell for less than they are worth; and when there are more buyers than sellers, their price is raised beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the Indian trade.

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WHEN we suppose that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ships sent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increase the competition on the side of the buyers, whereas it is not in our power to increase it on the side of the sellers. It is just the same thing as if we were to advise a number of traders to go and outbid one another, to get their goods the cheaper.

THE Indians make hardly any consumption of the produce either of our lands or of our industry. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great industry. They would easily go without the gold and silver of America, which is so far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only serves to support the tyranny under which they are oppressed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, whilst those we buy there are of great value. As long as we shall see no Indian ships come into our harbours to fetch away our stuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm that those people are not in want of us, and will consequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will rise, and our own sink, in value; and that at last it will be only by immense exports that we shall be able to procure any India goods at all. But if, in consequence of this order of things, each particular society is obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, they must carry on a losing trade, and the same competition that began



- **BOOK** **L** their ruin is Asia, will complete it in Europe; because the number of sellers being then greater, whilst the number of buyers is still the same, the societies will be obliged to sell at a lesser rate, after having brought at an advanced price.

THE article of assortments is not less important. By assortments is meant the combination of all the several sorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the present plenty or scarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the success and all the profits of the trade. But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private societies, than this assortment. How, indeed, should those circumscribed and unconnected societies, whose interest it is to conceal their operations from each other, acquire the knowledge that is requisite for this important purpose? How could they direct such a multitude of agents as must be employed? It is plain that the supercargoes and commissaries incapable of general views, would be all asking for the same sort of goods at the same time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of course enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe; to the great detriment of the owners; and of the nation in general.

ALL these considerations would certainly not escape the captains of ships and monied men, who would be solicited to enter into these societies. They would be discouraged by the fear of standing in competition with other societies, either in the buying, selling, or making up the assortments. The number of these societies would soon be reduced, and trade, instead of extending, would be daily contracted into a narrower circle, and finally be quite dropped.

It would, therefore, be for the interest of these private societies, as we have before observed, to unite together; because

because then all their agents both on the coast of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one consistent system, would jointly labour in the several factories, to collect proper assortments for the cargoes that were to be sent away from the chief factory, so that the whole should make a complete assortment when brought home, being collected upon a uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and instructions sent from Europe.

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BUT it would be in vain to expect that any such union could take place without the concurrence of government. In some cases, men require to be encouraged, and it is chiefly, as in the present instance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they stand in need of; or apprehensive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them! Government would find it their interest to encourage this association, as it is certainly the surest, if not the only way to procure at the cheapest rate, the India goods that are wanted for home consumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more striking from a very simple instance.

LET us suppose a merchant, who freights a ship for India with a considerable stock. Will he commission several agents at the same place to buy the goods he wants? Certainly not; because he will be sensible that by executing his orders with great secrecy, each of them would injure the other, and must necessarily enhance the price of the goods; so that he would have a smaller quantity of the commodity for his money than if he had employed but one agent. The application is easy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent.

WE have proved hitherto that in the India trade, the nature of things requires that the subjects of one country shall unite into one company, both for their own interest

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terest and for that of the state; but nothing has yet appeared, from whence it can be inferred that this company must be an exclusive one. We imagine on the contrary, that the exclusive privilege always granted to these companies, relates to something that is quite foreign to the essence of this trade.

WHEN the several nations in Europe began to find that it was their interest to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refused to do, though that commerce had long been open to all, they found themselves under a necessity of forming companies, and giving them all the encouragement that so difficult an undertaking required. They lent them money; they decorated them with all the attributes of sovereign power; they permitted them to send ambassadors; they empowered them to make peace and war, and unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have made but too much use of that fatal privilege. They found it necessary at the same time to secure to them the means of indemnifying themselves for the expences of settlements which must be very considerable. This gave rise to exclusive privileges, which at first were granted for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual from the following circumstances.

THE brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were in fact so many impediments to trade. The right of having fortresses, implied the necessity of building and defending them: that of having troops, implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. The same held good with regard to the permission of sending ambassadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All this was attended with expences that were merely for shew, only fit to check the progress of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors of the companies, who fancied themselves sovereigns, and acted accordingly.

NATIONS,

NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have a kind of colonies in Asia, which seemed to cost them nothing; and as it was but reasonable, whilst the companies bore all the burden of the expences, to secure to them all the profits, the privileges have been continued. But if, instead of attending only to this pretended oeconomy, which could be but temporary, they had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which must naturally be brought about in the course of a number of years, they must have foreseen that the expences of sovereignty which can never be ascertained, because they depend upon numberless political contingencies, would sooner or later absorb both the profits and the stock of a trading company: that then the public treasury must be exhausted to assist the chartered company, and that their favours, coming too late, could only repair the mischief already done, but would not remove the cause, and would leave the companies for ever in a state of mediocrity and languor.

BUT why should not governments at last suffer themselves to be undeceived? Why should they not take upon themselves a charge which properly belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having crushed the companies, must finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an exclusive privilege. The companies which now exist, and are valuable on account of their old connections and established credit, should be carefully preserved. The appearance of monopoly would vanish for ever, and their freedom might enable them to pursue some new track, which they could not think of, whilst they were encumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, the field of commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would fertilize and thrive in their hands. They would attempt new discoveries, and form new enterprizes. The trade from India to India, now sure of a

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market in Europe, would grow brisker, and extend farther. The companies, attentive to all these operations, would measure their dealings by the progress of private trade; and this competition, which would not be injurious to any, would be beneficial to the several states.

We apprehend this system would conduce to reconcile all interests, and is consistent with all principles. It seems to be liable but to one rational objection, either on the part of the advocates for the exclusive charter, or of those who contend for a free trade.

If the former should assert, that the companies without the exclusive charter would have but a precarious existence, and would soon be ruined by private traders; I should answer them that they were surely then not in earnest, when they affirmed that private trade could never succeed. For, if it is able to ruin that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can be but by engrossing every branch of their trade against their will, by a superiority of powers, and by the ascendent of liberty. Besides, what is it that really constitutes our companies? It is their stock, their ships, their factories, and not their exclusive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravagant expences, abuses of all kinds, visionary undertakings; in a word, bad administration, far more destructive than competition. But if the distribution of their powers is made with prudence and oeconomy; if the spirit of property directs their operations, there is no obstacle which they cannot surmount, no success which they may not expect.

If this success alarms the advocates for freedom, if they should say on the other hand, that those rich and powerful companies would terrify private men, and partly destroy that general and absolute freedom which is so necessary to trade; we should not be surprised to hear them start this objection; for men are almost always guided by reports, both in their actions and opinions.

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I do not except from this error the greatest part of our **BOOK**  
 writers upon revenue. Commercial and civil liberty **I.**  
 are the two tutelar deities of mankind, which we all  
 reverence as well as they. But we are not to be seduced  
 by words, we chuse to attend to the idea they are meant  
 to convey. I would ask those respectable enthusiasts  
 for liberty, what they would wish; whether they would  
 have the laws abolish the very name of those ancient  
 companies, that every citizen might boldly rush into the  
 trade, and that they should all have the same means of  
 procuring enjoyments, and the same resources to raise a  
 fortune. But if such laws, with all that parade of li-  
 berty, are in fact very exclusive laws, let not the deceit-  
 fulness of this language induce us to adopt them. When  
 the state allows all its members to carry on a trade that  
 requires a large stock, and which consequently very few  
 are able to undertake, I would ask what the bulk of the  
 nation gets by this regulation. It seems as if we meant  
 to expose their credulity, in permitting them to under-  
 take impossibilities. If we totally suppress the compa-  
 nies, there will be no India trade at all, or it will be only  
 carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further still, and, bating the article of the  
 exclusive charter, I will venture to affirm that the India  
 company, by the manner in which they are settled, have  
 made many people sharers in their trade, who would  
 otherwise never have been concerned in it. Consider  
 what a number of proprietors in every station and of  
 all ages partake of the profits of this trade, and you will  
 allow that it would have been far more circumscribed if  
 it had been in private hands; that the existence of com-  
 panies has only diffused it, whilst it seemed to restrain  
 it; and that the moderate price of the shares must be a  
 powerful motive to the people, to wish for the preserva-  
 tion of an establishment, which opens to them a tract  
 that

**BOOK** that would for ever have been shut against them, by a  
**I.** free trade.

IN truth, we believe that companies and private men might equally prosper without injuring one another, or creating any jealousies between them. The companies might still pursue those great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful association. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themselves to such objects as are in a manner overlooked by a great company, but might, by proper oeconomy, and the combination of many small powers, become a source of riches to the parties concerned.

IT must be left to statesmen, who by their talents are called to the management of public affairs, to decide upon the notions of an obscure citizen, who may have been misled by his want of experience. The system of politics cannot too soon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which so essentially concerns the fate of nations, and will, probably, always be an affair of the utmost consequence.

TO put an end to all intercourse between Europe and India, that luxury which has made such rapid progress in our part of the world, should be banished from every state. Our effeminacy should not create a thousand wants, unknown to our forefathers. The rivalry of trade should no longer agitate the several nations who vie with each other in amassing riches. There should be such revolutions in the manners, customs, and opinions of men, as are never likely to happen. We should return within the limits of nature, which we seemed to have abandoned for ever.

SUCH are the last reflections suggested to us with respect to the connections of Europe to Asia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

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## B O O K II.

*Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the new world.*

**A**NCIENT history presents to us a magnificent scene. The continued representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to find occurrences that bear any resemblance to them. The time of founding and of destroying empires is past. The man, before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The different nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, and long and obstinate struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at last settled in the wretched tranquillity of servitude. They now employ thunder in their battles, for the sake of taking a few towns, and gratifying the whims of a few powerful men: they formerly employed the sword to ruin and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. Our history is becoming insipid and trifling, yet we are not become more happy. A regular and daily oppression has succeeded to the troubles and storms of conquest; and we see with indifference the various ranks of slaves combating each other with their chains for the amusement of their masters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe, which has most influence over the rest, seems to have fixed itself on a solid and durable foundation. It is composed of communities that are almost in the same degree powerful, enlightened,

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II.

Parallel of  
ancient and  
modern  
history.



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II.

ed, extended, and jealous. They encroach perpetually upon each other ; and in the midst of this continued fluctuation, some will gain and others lose, and the balance will alternately incline to different sides, without ever being entirely destroyed. The fanaticism of religion, and the spirit of conquest, those two disturbers of the universe, operate no longer. That great machine, whose extremity was attached to the earth, and whose center of motion was in heaven, is now broken ; and kings begin to discover (though not for the happiness of their people, who attract but little of their attention, but for their own private interest) that the great end of government is to obtain riches and security. Hence they keep up large armies, fortify their frontiers, and encourage trade.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath arisen in Europe, that seems to open a vast scene of speculation to adventurers, but can only subsist in the midst of peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that destroys them all ; it is an action, which brings the whole fortune of a great merchant into question, and makes all his creditors tremble. The time is not far off, when the tacit sanction of government will extend to the private engagements between subjects of different nations ; and when those bankruptcies, the effects of which are felt at immense distances, will become matters of state. In these mercantile states, the discovery of an island, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of some useful machine, the construction of a port, the establishment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, these will be esteemed achievements of the highest importance ; and the annals of nations will in future be written by commercial philosophers, as they were formerly by historical orators.

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THE discovery of a new world would alone be sufficient to furnish employment for our curiosity. A vast continent entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal state, fields without harvests, treasures without proprietors, societies without policy, and men without manners, what an interesting and instructive spectacle would these have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, and a Montesquieu! What history could be so wonderful, so delightful, so affecting as the detail of their journey! But the stamp of rude unpolished nature is already disfigured. We shall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as soon as we have made the reader acquainted with these rapacious and cruel christians, whom an unhappy chance first brought to this further hemisphere.

SPAIN, which was known in the first ages under the names of Hesperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an agreeable climate; a plentiful soil, and governed themselves according to their own customs. The southern part of this nation had in some degree emerged from its state of barbarism, by the strong connections it maintained with foreigners; but the inhabitants of the coasts on the ocean continued to resemble all those nations, which know no other occupation but that of the chase. They were so attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had brought them to support by establishing general assemblies annually, in which those who had most distinguished themselves in the exercise of cultivation, received public applause.

Ancient  
revolutions  
of Spain.

SUCH was the situation of Spain, when the Carthaginians cast their longing eyes on a country filled with riches, of which its inhabitants were entirely ignorant.

These

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These merchants, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, introduced themselves in the quality of friends, who offered numberless commodities in return for useless metals. The temptations of a trade so advantageous in appearance, blinded the Spaniards to that degree, that they permitted the Carthaginians to build upon their coasts houses for their occasional residence, magazines for the security of their merchandise, and temples for the exercise of their religion. These establishments insensibly became fortified places, of which this trading power, whose policy was superior to its arms, availed itself to enslave a credulous nation, always divided within itself and irreconcilable in its enmities. By bribing some and intimidating others, Carthage succeeded in the reduction of Spain by the assistance of Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth.

No sooner were the Carthaginians become masters of the greatest and most valuable part of this fine country, than they shewed that they either knew not or despised the means of establishing their dominion. Instead of continuing to appropriate to themselves the gold and silver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly supplied from their mines, by exchanging for them commodities of little value, they chose to carry off every thing by force. Nor was this tyrannical disposition peculiar to the republic: the general, the officers, the private men and even the merchants acted upon the same principle. The violence of their proceedings threw the conquered provinces into despair, and made the apprehension of so heavy a yoke intolerable to those which were yet free. In this temper of mind both of them took the resolution of accepting assistance, as fatal to them as their injuries were cruel. Spain became a theatre of jealousy, ambition, and hatred between Rome and Carthage.

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THE two commonwealths contended with great obstinacy for the empire of this fine part of Europe ; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet spectators of the quarrel, and left the rival nations time to exhaust each other. But they chose to become actors in the bloody scene, and thus reduced themselves to be slaves to the Romans, in which state they continued till the fifth century.

IN a short time the degeneracy of those masters of the world inspired the savage nations of the north with courage to seize upon some provinces that were ill governed and ill defended. These barbarians being robbers by profession, were incapable of becoming citizens ; they made war upon each other. The Goths superior in abilities or good fortune subdued the rest, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one, which, notwithstanding the defects in its constitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, supported itself till the commencement of the eighth century.

AT this period, the Moors, who had made themselves masters of Africa ; with that impetuosity, which was the characteristic of all their enterprizes, passed the sea. They found a king without virtue and without abilities ; a multitude of courtiers, and not one minister ; soldiers without courage, and generals without experience ; an effeminate people, disgusted with the government, and disposed to change ; and beside these, rebels, who joined them for the sake of plundering, burning, and massacring all that fell in their way. In less than three years, the sovereignty of the Christians was destroyed, and that of the infidels established upon a solid foundation.

SPAIN was indebted to its conquerors for the seeds of taste, humanity, politeness, philosophy, many arts, and

a con-

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a considerable trade. These flourishing times lasted not long. The numberless sects, that arose among the conquerors, and the irreparable faults they committed in establishing distinct sovereigns in all the principal towns of their dominion, soon put an end to them.

DURING this time the Goths, who, to avoid the Mohammedan power, had fixed their asylum in the extremity of the Asturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous state of ignorance, oppressed by their fanatical priests, languishing in inexpressible poverty, and perpetually harrassed by civil wars. Under the influence of these calamities, far from availing themselves of the divisions among their enemies, they thought themselves sufficiently happy to be forgotten, or not to be known by them. But as soon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as soon as the nobility and bishops became incapable of disturbing the state; and the people raised from slavery were admitted to a share of the government, the national spirit began to revive. The Arabians attacked on every side, were successively stripped of their conquests. At the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had they been engaged with a power, that could have united in one common center, the conquests it gained over them. But this was not the case. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of an independent state. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms, as it contained provinces; and it was not till after a long time, many successions, wars and revolutions, that these petty states were at last melted down into the two monarchies of Castile and Arragon. After which the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand, having happily united all the crowns of Spain in one family,

mily, they found themselves equal to the enterprize of attacking the kingdom of Granada. BOOK II.

THIS state, which scarcely occupied one eighth part of the peninsula of Spain, had always been in a flourishing condition from the time of the invasion of the Saracens: but it grew more prosperous in proportion as the successes of the christians induced a greater number of the infidel inhabitants to take refuge there; at which time it consisted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the rest of Europe there were no lands so well cultivated; such numerous and improved manufactures; so regular and so extensive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to seven millions of livres. (About 306,000*l.*) a prodigious sum at a time when gold and silver were very scarce.

THESE important advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Castile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally stimulated them to the enterprize. It cost them a ten years bloody war to subdue this flourishing province. The conquest of it was completed by the taking of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492.

IT was in these glorious circumstances that Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth, whose knowledge of astronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his cotemporaries, proposed to the Spaniards who were happy at home, to aggrandize themselves abroad. He was led by a secret impulse to imagine that there must certainly be another continent, and that he was the person destined to discover it. The notion of Antipodes, which superstition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reason itself had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the boldest that ever entered into the heart of man, took strong possession of his imagination, and having in

Columbus forms the design of discovering America.

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vain proposed the acquisition of a new hemisphere, to his native country Genoa, to Portugal where he then resided, and even to England which he might have expected would have readily embraced every project of extending its maritime power: he communicated his designs to Isabella.

THE ministers of this princess who looked upon the scheme of discovering a new world as the project of a dis-tempered brain, treated the author of it for some time with that contemptuous insolence, which true genius often experiences from men in power, whose abilities do not rise beyond the common standard. But no difficulties could discourage Columbus, who like all others that engage in extraordinary enterprizes, had a large share of that enthusiasm, which renders them superior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the evasions of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length by dint of perseverance, spirit and courage, assisted by the arts of prudence and address, he surmounted every difficulty. Having obtained a grant of three small vessels, and ninety men; he set sail on the 3d of August 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the islands and territories he should discover.

HAVING sailed a considerable length of time, the ships crews terrified with the idea of the immense tract of ocean, which lay between them and their native country, began to despair of the success of their undertaking. Their discontent rose to that height, that they more than once formed the design of throwing Columbus overboard, and returning to Spain. The admiral concealed his chagrin, as well as he could: but finding that a mutiny would immediately ensue, he assured his companions that if he did not discover land in three days, he would sail back to Europe. For some time past, on sounding, he had found a bottom, and from  
other

other circumstances, had good reason to conclude that he was not far from land. BOOK  
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THE new world was discovered in October, Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas or Bahama islands, which he called San-Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of Isabella. The Spaniards at that time did not imagine there could be any injustice in seizing upon a country, which was not inhabited by christians. Arrival of  
Columbus  
in the new  
world.

THE islanders on seeing the ships, and a race of men so different from their own, were terrified and run away. The Spaniards caught some of them; and treated them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with presents.

THIS behaviour intirely dissipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the shore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manner was free and open. They brought fruits. They assisted the Spaniards in getting on shore, by taking them upon their shoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring islands shewed the same obliging disposition. The sailors sent by Columbus to make discoveries, every where met with the kindest reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in furnishing them with provisions. They filled the hammocks where they slept, with the finest cotton. But it was gold that the Spaniards wanted, and they soon discovered it. Several of the savages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they presented to their new guests: who on their part were more disgusted with the naked appearance and simplicity of these people, than penetrated with their kindness. They were incapable of discerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprized to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals,



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who were only to be treated with humanity, till the necessary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the gold mines.

HAVING taken a view of several smaller islands, Columbus landed on the north side of a large island called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hispaniola, and which is now called San Domingo: he was conducted thither by some savages of the other islands who accompanied him without the least distrust, and gave him to understand that the great island furnished them with the metal the Spaniards were so fond of.

Customs of  
 the people  
 of Hayti,  
 since  
 known by  
 the name of  
 Hispaniola

THE island of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and sixty, and in some places eighty in breadth, is divided from east to west by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the island, and are for the most part steep. It was distributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which live in perfect amity. Their kings who were called Caciques, were absolute, and much beloved. The complexion of these people was much fairer than in the other islands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The married women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no farther than their knees. The girls as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and shell-fish. As they were temperate, nimble and active, but not strong, they were averse from labour. They lived free from care in a state of agreeable indolence. Their time was spent in dancing, diversion and sleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they shewed little marks of genius: and indeed this must be the case with islanders, who living in a state of separation from the rest of mankind, must of necessity have very confined ideas. Detached societies arrive at improvement by slow and painful advances. They derive no advantages of refinement from those discoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people:

people: and their adventures are too few to afford them many opportunities of acquiring knowledge.

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THE Spaniards themselves confess that these people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almost divested of any passion whatever. They were ignorant but shewed no desire to be instructed. This indifference and the confidence they reposed in strangers prove that they were happy. Their history and their notions of morality were contained in a collection of songs, which they learned from their infancy: and they had in common with all nations some fables concerning the origin of the human race.

WE know little of their religion, to which they paid no great attention; and it is probable that in this respect as well as in many others they have been calumniated by the authors of their destruction; who pretend that these islanders, whose manners were so gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worshippers of a malevolent deity can never be virtuous.

THEY had no law that prescribed any limited number of wives. It was common for one of them to have some privileges and distinctions allotted her; but these gave her no authority over the rest. She was one whom the husband loved the best, and by whom he thought himself best beloved. On the death of her partner, she sometimes caused herself to be buried in the same grave with him. This was not a custom, a duty, or a point of honour among this people: but the wife found it impossible to survive the object of her tenderest affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiousness, and vice: and to the pretended excessive indulgence of the islanders in this point, they attributed the rise of a distemper, which, as a philosophical physician has lately demonstrated in a

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II.

treatise on the origin of the venereal disease, was known in Europe before the discovery of America.

THESE islanders had no other weapons than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which, being hardened in the fire, was sometimes armed with sharp stones, or the bone of a fish. The ordinary Spanish dress was of itself an impenetrable armour against arrows of this kind, shot with little dexterity. These weapons and some small clubs or rather large sticks, which could seldom give a mortal blow, were far from making these people formidable.

THEY were distinguished into different classes, one of which laid claim to a kind of nobility: but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this distinction, or the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and savage people had also sorcerers among them, who were always either the offspring or parents of superstition.

COLUMBUS omitted nothing that could engage the friendship of these islanders. But at the same time he made them sensible that though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their presence of the surprising effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he said. They looked upon the Spaniards as men descended from heaven, and the presents they received, were, in their estimation, not meer curiosities, but sacred things. This error was productive of great advantages: nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the savages red caps, glass beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and provisions.

COLUMBUS took advantage of this harmony to fix upon a place for a settlement, which he designed should be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the assistance of the islanders, who cheerfully laboured to forge chains for themselves. He left thirty-nine

nine Castilians in the place; and having reconnoitred the greatest part of the island, sailed for Spain. BOOK II.

He arrived at Palos a port of Andalusia, from whence he had set sail seven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court resided. This voyage was a triumph. The nobility and people went to meet him, and followed him in crowds to the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella. He presented to them some islanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curiosities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a variety of uncommon objects exposed to the view of a people, whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they saw an inexhaustible source of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthusiasm spread and reached even the throne. At the public audience the sovereign gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to sit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with caresses, commendations, and honours; and soon after he embarked with seventeen sail to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies.

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred soldiers, three hundred artificers, missionaries, corn, fruits, and such domestic animals as were unknown in the new world; Columbus found his fortress demolished and all the Spaniards massacred. It appeared on examination clear to Columbus, that they had drawn this misfortune upon themselves by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour: and he had the address to persuade those who had less moderation than himself, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. They employed themselves entirely in scrutinizing the mines, the working of which was one day to cost so much blood, and in building forts in the neighbourhood.

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Cruelties  
exercised  
towards  
the Indians  
at Hispan-  
niola,

neighbourhood with sufficient garrisons to protect their labours.

In the mean time, the provisions that had been brought from Europe, were spoilt by the damp heat of the climate; and the few hands sent over for the purpose of raising vegetable in a country so favourable to their growth, were either dead or disabled by sickness. The military people were desired to supply their place; but they disdained an employment that was to procure them subsistence. Indolence began then to be an honourable distinction in Spain. To do nothing was esteemed the characteristic of a gentleman: and the meanest soldier chose to live in the high stile, in a country where he had commanded. The islanders offered them every thing but they required more. They were perpetually asking them for provisions and gold. In short, these unfortunate people harassed themselves in gardening, hunting, fishing, and working in the mines to gratify the insatiable Spaniards: who at the same time, considered them in no other light, but that of traitors and rebellious slaves, whose lives might be taken away at pleasure.

COLUMBUS finding that the Indians were exasperated by this barbarous treatment, returned from pursuing his discoveries, in hopes of bringing the parties to a reconciliation: but the mutinous clamours of a fierce and rapacious soldiery drove him into hostilities, which were contrary to his sentiments both as a man and as a politician: with two hundred foot and twenty horse, he ventured to attack an army said to consist of a hundred thousand men, on the spot where the city of St. Jago was afterwards built.

THE unhappy Indians were conquered before the engagement. They considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order. Their admiration, respect, and fear, were increased by the European armour: and the sight  
of

of the horse in particular, astonished them beyond measure. Many of them were simple enough to believe that the man and the horse were the same animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof against these impressions of terror, they could have made but a faint resistance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a discipline to which they were strangers, must have easily dispersed them. They fled on all sides. They demanded peace, which was granted them on condition that they should cultivate the land for the Spaniards, and furnish them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

THESE hard terms, and the cruelties that aggravated them, soon became insupportable. To avoid them, the islanders took refuge in the mountains, where they hoped to procure the small subsistence their necessities required by hunting and gathering wild fruits, till their enemies who each of them required more nourishment than ten Indians, finding themselves deprived of provisions, should be obliged to repass the seas. But they were disappointed in their expectations. The Castilians maintained themselves by the supplies they received from Europe, and pursued their horrid plan with more eagerness than ever. No place was inaccessible to their rage. They trained their dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy Indians: and some of them made a vow to massacre twelve every day in honour of the twelve Apostles. By these means a third part of these nations was destroyed. On their arrival, the island was supposed to contain a million of inhabitants. All accounts agree that this number is not exaggerated; and it is certain that the population was considerable.

THOSE who did not fall a prey to misery, fatigue, alarm, and the sword, were forced to submit to the will of the conqueror, who exercised his power with more rigour, as it was not now restrained by the presence of Columbus.

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## II.

Columbus. This great man was returned to Spain to inform the court of the barbarities, which the character of the people under him made it impossible for him to prevent, and which the voyages he was perpetually engaged in, did not suffer him to controul. During his absence, the colony which he had left under his brother's command was torn by dissensions, animosities, and mutinies. No orders were obeyed, unless when some Cacique was to be dethroned, some Hord pillaged or demolished, or some nation extirpated. The moment these savage troops had got possession of the treasures of these unhappy people, whose throats they had cut, the disturbances were renewed. The desire of independence and the difficulty of making an equal distribution of plunder among a set of men equally greedy, created dissensions. Authority was no longer respected; the subalterns paid as little regard to their commanders, as the commanders did to the laws: and open war at last broke out among themselves.

THE Indians who sometimes bore a part in these bloody and detestable scenes, and were always witnesses of them, recovered their courage a little. Notwithstanding their simplicity, they saw far enough to judge that it was by no means impracticable to rid themselves of a small number of tyrants who appeared to have lost sight of their projects, and attended to nothing but the gratification of the implacable hatred they bore to one another: animated by this hope, they embarked in a confederacy which was managed with more address than could have been expected, and had acquired considerable strength. The Spaniards who persisted in destroying each other, notwithstanding they were threatened by so great a danger, would probably have fallen victims to their own obstinacy, had not Columbus arrived from Europe at this critical juncture.

THE distinguished reception he had met with there at first,

first, had made but a slight impression upon the people: time which brings in reflection to counterwork the magic of enthusiasm had destroyed that fondness for expedition to the new world which at first so strongly prevailed. The ostentatious display of the treasures brought from thence, ceased to be an incitement: on the contrary the livid complexions of all the people who returned home; and the severe and disgraceful distempers under which the greater part laboured: the accounts of the unwholesomeness of the climate, of the numbers who lost their lives, and the hardships they had undergone from the scarcity of provisions: an unwillingness to be under the command of a foreigner who was blamed for the severity of his discipline: and, perhaps, the jealousy they entertained of his growing reputation, all contributed to produce an insuperable prejudice against San Domingo, in the subjects of the province of Castile, the only Spaniards who were allowed to embark in that enterprize.

It was necessary, however, to procure planters at any rate: the admiral therefore proposed to have recourse to the prisons, and by rescuing the greatest malefactors from death and infamy to make them the instruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and disgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in such colonies as having gained a more solid establishment, might by the force of their laws and the purity of their manners, restrain or correct the excesses of a few licentious and profligate individuals. But infant states require founders of a different character from a train of banditti. America will never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debased the first colonies that were transported thither from Europe. Columbus soon experienced the ill effects of his injudicious proposal.

HAD this enterprizing seaman carried out with him  
men



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men of the common stamp, he might, during the voyage, have inspired them with honest principles at least, if not with high notions of honour. These persons on their arrival, would have constituted a majority, and the rest would have been obliged, or rather disposed to adopt the examples of moderation and obedience, they would have set them. Such a harmony would have been productive of the most salutary effects, and have established the colony on the most solid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more easily levied. The mother country animated by this success to the greatest attempts, might have formed new settlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. These important events which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this single piece of mismanagement.

THE malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the free-booters at San Domingo, formed a society the most abandoned imaginable. They were strangers to subordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral in particular was the object of their resentment, who saw too late the false step he had taken himself; or into which, perhaps, he had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man, paid very dear for the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contrast between those incidents, which either elate or depress the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually exposed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals, but had the caprice of a haughty and suspicious court to encounter, which by turns rewarded, or punished, caressed, or disgraced him.

THE prejudice entertained by the Spanish ministry against the author of the greatest discovery ever made, operated

operated so far, that an arbitrator was dispatched to the new world, to decide between Columbus and his soldiers. Bovadilla, the most ambitious, self-interested, unjust, and hot-headed person America had ever beheld, arrived at San Domingo, put the admiral in irons, and conducted him to Spain like the worst of criminals. The court ashamed of so ignominious a treatment, granted him his liberty; but without redressing the injury he had received, or restoring him to his employments. Such was the fate of this uncommon man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added a fourth part of the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been so long desolate, and so little known. It might reasonably have been expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this bold adventurer to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the least homage of respect, that could be paid to his memory: but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune in the distribution of fame; this honour was reserved for Americus Vespucius, who only trod in the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters. Thus the very æra which added America to the known world, was distinguished by a specimen of injustice, which was a fatal prelude to those scenes of violence, of which these unhappy climes were afterwards to be the theatre.

AFTER the disgrace of Columbus, and the death of Isabella, these abuses became more frequent. The islanders, though condemned to undergo a degree of drudgery, which often proved fatal to them, and to pay the most exorbitant fines, had hitherto continued to live in their hords, after the manner of the country, and under the government of their caciques. In the year 1506, Ferdinand was petitioned to make a distribution of them among the conquerors, that they might be employed

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ployed in the mines, or in any other kinds of labour, that tyranny might think proper to inflict. Religion and policy were the two pretences made use of to palliate this inhuman plan. It was urged, that so long as these savages were tolerated in their superstitions, they would never embrace christianity; and would always be in a disposition to revolt, unless their dispersion put it out of their power to make any attempt. The monarch complied with their request at the instance of the clergy, whose intolerant principles always transported them into violent measures. The whole island was divided into a great number of districts. Every Spaniard, whether a native of Castile or Arragon, was indiscriminately allotted a larger or smaller part, in proportion to his rank, interest or birth. The Indians assigned to each district, from this instant became slaves whose services and lives were at the disposal of their masters. This cruel arrangement was afterwards adopted in all the settlements in the world.

THE produce of the mines was now more certain. At first one half belonged to the crown. This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

THE treasures brought from San Domingo, excited the avarice even of those who would not venture to cross the seas. The grandees, and those who had employments in the state, obtained grants by which they enriched themselves without any trouble. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increased those of their principals. Impossible as it seemed, there was now an augmentation of cruelties. In five years after this barbarous system took place, the natives were reduced to fourteen thousand: and the continent and the adjacent islands were obliged to be ransacked for savages to supply their place.

THEY were indiscriminately chained together like beasts.

beasts. Those who sank under the burdens, were compelled to rise by severe blows. No intercourse passed between the sexes but by stealth. The men perished in the mines, and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their constitutions already exhausted, with excessive labour, were still further impaired by an unwholesome and scanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, pressing their dead or dying infants to their breasts, shrivelled and contracted for want of a proper supply of milk. The fathers either poisoned themselves; or sought death on those very trees on which they had just before seen their wives or their children expire.

THE Spaniards, before their first settlements in the new world were laid waste by these scenes of horror, had formed some of less note at Jamaica, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Velasquez, who founded the last of these, was desirous that this colony should enjoy, together with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making discoveries upon the continent, and he fixed upon Francis Hernandez of Cordova to conduct this glorious undertaking. He furnished him with three vessels, and a hundred and ten men, with permission to erect forts, to bring off slaves, or to export gold at his own discretion. This voyage which was made in 1517, was productive of no event except the discovery of Lyncatan.

JOHN of Gryalva who was fitted out the following year with a view of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this country, discharged his commission with ability; but he did not confine himself to this object: he surveyed the coast of Campeachy, pursued his voyage still further north, and disembarked wherever he found a convenient landing place. Though he did not always meet with a favourable reception, his expedition proved extremely successful. He brought home a great quantity of gold, and got a sufficient insight into the extent, opulence, and strength of Mexico.

THE

**B O O K**  
**II.**

Cortez sets  
 out for the  
 conquest of  
 Mexico.  
 What hap-  
 pened to  
 him off  
 Tabasco.

THE conquest of this vast empire appeared too great an undertaking for a man of Gryalva's abilities. Fernando Cortez, who was more distinguished on account of the expectations the world entertained of his future conduct, than by the great services he had already performed, was unanimously fixed upon to carry this plan into execution. According to the representation given of him by his adherents, it appears that he had such an uncommon strength of constitution, that he was able to undergo the greatest fatigues: that he possessed the talent of eloquence in an eminent degree; a sagacity which foresaw every thing; a presence of mind not to be overcome by the most unexpected events: that he was fruitful in expedients; that he knew how to reduce those to subjection who refused to listen to terms of accommodation; that his constancy was such, that he never receded from the point in view; and that he had that enthusiastic love of glory, which has ever been considered as the leading qualification in a hero. This advantageous idea has long prevailed among the generality of people whose judgments are, and must ever be regulated by the sole standard of success. But since philosophy has thrown new light upon history, it is become a matter of doubt whether the faults of Cortez did not overbalance his great qualities.

BE this however as it may, this man, who was afterwards so celebrated, was no sooner invested by Velasquez with the command of the most important expedition that had hitherto been undertaken to the new world; than he found himself on an eminence, which presented the prospects of fame and fortune in all their charms. Having surmounted the obstacles which jealousy and enmity threw in his way, he set sail on the 10th of February 1519. His forces consisted of five hundred and eight soldiers, a hundred and nine sailors with their proper officers; some horses, and a small train of artillery.

This

This armament, inconsiderable as it was, was not equipped by government, which only lent the sanction of its name to the attempts that were made to discover new countries and form new settlements. They were all carried on at the expence of private persons, who were ruined if they failed in their enterprizes ; while their success enlarged the dominion of the mother-country. In the course of these early expeditions, the state did not form any plan, advance any money, or raise any troops. The love of gold, and the spirit of chivalry which still prevailed, were the only incitements to industry and activity. Their influence, however, was so powerful, that not only the common people, but great numbers of distinguished rank flew with impatience to mix with savages in the torrid zone, where the climate is frequently unwholesome. There was perhaps at that time no people upon earth besides the Spaniards, so frugal, so much inured to fatigue, or so accustomed to the intemperature of a hot climate, as to be able to endure so many hardships.

CORTEZ, who was remarkable for these qualities, in his way attacked the Indians at Tabasco, defeated them in several engagements, granted them peace, entered into an alliance with them, and brought away several of their women, who were very glad to follow him. This readiness of theirs may be accounted for very naturally.

IN America the men were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery which shocks nature, and perverts animal instinct. This depravity has been attributed by some to natural weakness, which, however, should rather seem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be ascribed to the heat of the climate ; the contempt the men have for the softer sex ; the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harassed with labour ; the inconstancy of taste ;

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the caprice which incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are least common ; and to a certain pursuit after pleasure, more easy to be conceived, than explained with decency. Besides, have not those hunting parties, in which the men are frequently absent from the women for two months, contributed to familiarize men more with each other ? This vice is therefore in these countries nothing more than the consequence of an universal and violent passion, which even in civilized countries, tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of consanguinity, and patriotic sentiment : besides that there are some actions to which civilized people have with reason attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of savages.

HOWEVER this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raised new ideas in the American women. They threw themselves without reserve into the arms of these libidinous strangers, who had inured themselves to cruelty, and whose avaricious hands were drenched in blood. While the unfortunate remains of these savage nations were endeavouring to separate themselves from the sword that pursued them, by immense tracts of deserts, their women who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcases of their children and of their murdered husbands, went to seek their destroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to share the ardent transports with which they were devoured. This fury of the American women in favour of the Spaniards, may be reckoned among the causes that contributed to the conquest of the new world. These women usually served them as guides, frequently procured them subsistence, and sometimes betrayed conspiracies to them.

THE most celebrated of these women was named Marina. Though she was the daughter of a pretty powerful Cacique, she had been reduced by some singular events, to a state of slavery among the Mexicans from  
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her earliest infancy. She had been brought by fresh incidents to Tabasco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they soon distinguished her from the rest. Their general surrendered his heart to her, and at the same time excited a warm passion in her breast. In the midst of amorous embraces she soon learnt the Spanish language. Cortez on his part soon discovered the intelligent mind, and resolute character of his mistress; and not only made her his interpreter, but also his adviser. All historians agree that she acted a considerable part in every enterprise against Mexico.

REPORT says, that this empire had not then been founded above a century. In order to establish a circumstance of so little credibility, it is necessary we should have other testimony than that of the Spaniards, who had neither the ability, nor the will to examine any thing; and better authority than that of their fanatic priests, who wanted to establish their own superstitions, by abolishing the worship of these people. What should we know of China, if the Portuguese had been able to set it on fire, overthrow or destroy it, as the Brazil? Should we now converse about the antiquity of its books, its laws, and its manners? When some few philosophers have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, there to find out and clear the ruins of their history, and that these learned men shall neither be monks nor Spaniards; but English or Frenchmen, who will be allowed every liberty, and have all the means of getting at the truth: then perhaps we may learn, whether barbarism has not destroyed the antient records, that might have discovered the traces of it.

Cortez arrives at Mexico. His engagements with the province of Tlascala.

OUR lights concerning the founders of the empire, are not more certain than those we have with respect to the æra of its foundation. This is another of those facts the knowledge of which we have been deprived of by



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the ignorance of the Spaniards. Their credulous historians have, indeed, told us in an uncertain and vague manner, that some barbarians who formed a national body, issuing from the north of this continent, had succeeded in subduing successively some savages born under a milder sky, and who either did not live in a social state, or formed only small societies.

ALL that we can affirm, is, that Montezuma was the sovereign of Mexico, when the Spaniards landed on the coasts of that empire. The monarch was soon informed of the arrival of the strangers. Throughout this vast extent of kingdom, couriers were placed at different distances, who speedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the most distant provinces. Their dispatches were made up in pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the several circumstances of the affairs that demanded the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which supplied what the art of the painter had not been able to express.

It was to be expected that a prince who had been raised to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conquest, who had numerous and disciplined armies, would either send to attack, or would himself fall upon a handful of adventurers, who dared to invest his dominions with their rapine. This however was not the case. The Spaniards who had always an irresistible turn to the marvellous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourse to a miracle, a conduct so evidently opposite to the character of the monarch, and so incompatible with his situation. The writers of this superstitious nation have not scrupled to declare to the whole universe, that a little before the discovery of the new world, it had been foretold to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the east would soon come among them, who would in a memorable and terrible manner, avenge

avenge the gods irritated by their most horrid crimes, and particularly by that vice which is most repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they say, fascinated the great understanding of Montezuma. By this imposture, they have imagined that they should gain the double advantage of justifying their usurpations, and making heaven answerable for a part of their cruelties. This absurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among some persons in both hemispheres, and this insatiation is not so surprizing as it might at first be imagined. The reasons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

THE earth has ever been subject to revolutions. Besides its diurnal and annual motion from west to east, it may have an insensible one, which though silent as the lapse of time, produces a revolution from north to south: and which the moderns have just begun to discover without pretending however either to mark the æra of its commencement, or to trace its progress by any calculation.

THIS inclination is only a seeming one, if it be owing to the heavens, which by a slow motion proportioned to the magnitude of the orbs they contain, attract them and the sun towards the pole: but it is a real one, if our globe by its natural constitution verges as it were insensible to a point, opposite to this secret motion of the heavens: however this may be, by the natural consequence of this inclination, the earth's axis being constantly declining, it may happen, that what we call, the oblique sphere may become a right one, and what was a right sphere, may, in its turn become an oblique one—that the countries now lying under the equator might formerly have been under the poles, and what is now the frigid zone, may have before been the torrid.

HENCE we may conclude, that this great variation in the position of the whole body of the earth, must produce

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duce many particular alterations on its surface. The ocean, which acts as the instrument of all these smaller changes, following the different inclination of the axis, retires from one tract of land and occupies another, occasioning those inundations or deluges which have successively overflowed the face of the globe; drowned its inhabitants, and every where left visible marks of ruin and devastation, or lasting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

THE contest which perpetually subsists between the two elements, which, however irreconcilable, are yet inseparable companions; the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal cavities, and the sea encroaching upon, and swallowing up large tracts of land; makes the inhabitants of the globe sensible of the danger of their situation, and alarms them with the prospect of their impending fate. The lively recollection of past, naturally begets a dread of future changes. Hence the universal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future conflagration of the world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe; earthquakes occasioned by inundations; or volcanos produced by those convulsions, raise and cherish dreadful apprehensions in the minds of men. As this terror is the parent of superstition, it has every where received the sanction of its authority: and it is observed to operate most strongly in countries, such as America, where the vestiges of these revolutions of the globe are most remarkable or most recent.

MAN once possessed with fear, considers a single calamity as the parent of a thousand others. Earth and heaven seem equally to conspire to his ruin: he sees death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events which accidentally happen at the same juncture, as connected in the nature and the constitution of things: and as most of the transactions on this globe, appear  
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under the aspect of some constellations, the stars are accused of having a share in every calamity, the cause of which is unknown ; and the human kind which has ever been bewildered in its inquiries concerning the origin of evil, has been led to suppose that certain similar situations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and necessary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or soon after succeeding.

POLITICAL events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been considered as more immediately depending on the motion of the stars. Hence those false predictions and terrors, which have in all ages kept the world in awe ; terrors, the origin and progress of which, is entirely owing to the different degrees of ignorance in mankind.

THOUGH Montezuma, as well as many other persons, might possibly have been affected with this disease of the human mind, there is no circumstance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakness to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiser on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he no longer had displayed any of those talents that placed him upon it. Passing his life in a state of effeminacy and indolence, he despised his subjects, and oppressed his tributaries. His mind was so debased and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouse him into action. He wasted in negotiations the time he should have employed in combat, and was desirous of sending away laden with presents, enemies he ought to have destroyed. Cortez, to whom this supineness was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him in the most friendly terms. He declared that he was sent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greatest monarch of the east. Whenever he was pressed to re-

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imbank, he always answered that he had never sent away any of his ambassadors without giving him an audience. At length, the deputies finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their instructions, to have recourse to menaces, and spoke in high terms of the opulence and strength of their country. Cortez then turning to his soldiers, told them: *this is exactly what we were in search of, great dangers, and great wealth.* He had then compleated all his preparatives, and gained every information that was necessary. Resolved therefore to conquer or to perish, he set fire to all his ships, and directed his march to the capital of the empire.

In his way he met with the republic of Tlascala, which had ever been in enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it subject to their empire. Cortez not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permission to pass through their empire, and proposed an alliance, both which were refused for reasons that we never have been acquainted with. The surprizing accounts given of the Spaniards, astonished the inhabitants of Tlascala, but did not dismay them. They fought four or five battles: in one of which the Spanish troops were broken, and in danger of being defeated, had not some dissensions happened in the enemy's army. Cortez was obliged to intrench himself, and the Tlascalans, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, rushed to death, upon his breast-works.

ANOTHER circumstance which contributed not a little to their defeat, was a certain point of honour dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and by some people among the Gauls; and established among several nations. This was the dread and disgrace of suffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point occasioned a continual confusion in their army, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

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THE form of government among these people was very singular, and in many respects at least may be proposed as an excellent model. The country was divided into several districts, over which princes presided with the title of Caciques. They led their subjects into the field, levied taxes, and administered justice: but their laws and edicts were to have the sanction of the senate of Tlascala, in which the supreme authority resided. This body was composed of citizens chosen out of each district by an assembly of the people. The laws and manners of the Tlascalans were extremely severe. Falshood, filial ingratitude, and the crime against nature, were punished with death. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

MILITARY merit here, as in all uncivilized states or such as aspire to conquest, was in the highest esteem. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraven the figures of two of their ancient heroes. They began the engagement by discharging one of these arrows, which it was a point of honour to retrieve. In their towns they wore a dress, which they divested themselves of when they went to battle. They are celebrated for openness and sincerity in their public treaties, and the veneration they paid to old men. Theft, adultery, and drunkenness were held in detestation. and the persons guilty of those crimes were doomed to banishment. No strong liquors were allowed to be drank by any but veterans, exhausted by the fatigues of war.

THE Tlascalans had their pleasure-gardens and their baths. They were fond of dancing, poetry, and theatrical amusements. One of their principal divinities was the goddess of love; who had a magnificent temple, and the whole nation resorted to the celebration of her festivals.

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THEIR country was not of any great extent, nor was it the most fertile spot in this part of the world. Though mountainous it was well cultivated, very populous, and very happy.

SUCH were the people whom the Spaniards disdained to acknowledge of the same species with themselves. One of the qualities of the Tlascalans which excited their contempt the most, was the love of liberty. They fancied that they had no government, because it was not vested in a single person: police, because it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, because they were not of the same religious persuasion: and no understanding, because they did not adopt the same opinions.

NATIONAL prejudices were, perhaps, never idolized to that degree among any people, as among the Spaniards at that time, and it is the same at this day. By these prejudices all their sentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The glowing and manly genius they derived from nature, made them only more ingenious in inventing sophisms to justify their errors. Never was the perversion of human reason maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obstinate and artful manner. Nor was their attachment to their customs less strong than that to their prejudices. They could not allow any people upon earth to be so sensible, intelligent, and virtuous as themselves. This national pride, carried to an excess of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to consider Athens in the same contemptuous light as Tlascala. They would have treated the Chinese as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppression, and devastation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not however prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlascalans, who furnished them with troops to conduct

conduct their march and support them in their enterprise.

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WITH this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards the capital city, through a fertile country watered by fine rivers, and interspersed with towns, woods, cultivated fields, and gardens. The soil produced a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds of the most glittering plumage, and animals of a new species appeared in great abundance. Nature only changed her appearance, by assuming a more agreeable and rich dress. The temperature of the air, and the continual heats which were not insupportable, preserved the earth in constant verdure and fertility. Some trees covered with blossoms, and others with delicious fruits: and the same grain sowing in one field, which was reaping in another.

Cortez advances towards Mexico; manners, religion, government, and riches of the empire at the arrival of the Spaniards.

THE Spaniards seemed to be insensible to the beauties of so new a scene. They saw that gold was the common ornament of the houses and temples; that the arms, furniture, and persons of the Mexicans were adorned with the same metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon whom Milton describes as forgetting the divinity in Heaven itself, and having his eyes always fixed upon its golden porches.

MONTEZUMA's wavering disposition, and, perhaps, the fear of committing his former glory to chance, prevented him from falling upon the Spaniards at their arrival; and afterwards from joining the Tlascalans, who were braver than he; hindered him in a word from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He seemed to have no other plan, than to endeavour to divert Cortez from his design of visiting his capital, and at last determined to introduce him into it himself. He had under his command thirty kings or princes, many of whom were in a condition to bring a numerous army into the field. He possessed immense riches, and an absolute power. It is said that his



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his subjects had no small share of understanding, knowledge, industry, and politeness. They were warriors, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himself of these advantages, the sceptre could never have been arrested out of his hands. But this prince forgetting what he owed to himself and to his station, did not shew the least instance of courage, or ability; when he might have crushed the Spaniards by the exertion of his whole force, notwithstanding their superiority in discipline and arms, he rather chose to have recourse to perfidy.

WHILE he loaded them with presents, caresses, and every token of respect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had established with a view of securing their retreat, and of being furnished with supplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and told them, 'That it was absolutely necessary to surprize these barbarians with some extraordinary exploit: that he resolved to seize the emperor, and make himself master of his person.' His design being approved, he instantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he must either follow him, or die. The prince, whose pusillanimity could only be equalled by the rashness of his enemies, resigned himself into their hands. He was obliged to consent to the punishment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders: and completed his disgrace, by submitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

IN the midst of this success, Cortez received advice that Narvaez was dispatched by the governor of Cuba, with a small army to deprive him of his command. He marched towards his rival, engaged, and took him prisoner. He ordered the vanquished to lay down their arms, but afterwards restored them, and proposed that they

they should follow him. He gained their affections by his openness and magnanimity; the army of Narvaez enlisted under his standard: and he returned to Mexico, where he had left two hundred men to guard the emperor.

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COMMOTIONS were excited among the nobility of Mexico, who deeply resented the captivity of their prince; and the indiscreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to disturb a public festival celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by destroying their altars, and making a massacre of the worshippers and priests, had provoked the people to take up arms. The superstition of the Mexicans was the only mark of barbarism among them: their priests, however, who were a disgrace to humanity, made a most scandalous abuse of that abominable worship, which they had imposed upon the credulity of the people. This government, like all other civilized nations, acknowledged a supreme being, and a future state of rewards and punishments: but these useful doctrines, were disgraced by a mixture of absurdity, which destroyed their credibility.

THE religious system of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final catastrophe of the world, at the conclusion of every century: and that year was distinguished throughout the whole empire, by every mark of grief and consternation. The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the same manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Feticues. The lowest deities in this class had all their temples, images, employments, and distinct authority assigned them, together with the power of working miracles. They had their holy water to sprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, processions and donations to the priests were esteemed acts of piety: and they were no strangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and abstinence. They had some superstitious observances peculiar to themselves. A slave

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was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a deity, and concluded the scene by cutting his throat with great solemnity. Another piece of superstition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the priests made a statue of paste, which they sent to the oven: they placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crouds of people flocked to the temple. The priests cut the statue in pieces, and distributed a portion of it to all the persons in the assembly who ate it, and thought they were sanctified by swallowing their god.

It was certainly more eligible to eat gods than men: and yet the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The priests afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted some time, they took care to have it insinuated to the emperor, that the gods were perishing with hunger: and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners. Such a system of religion was in every view odious and terrible; and all its ceremonies were of a dismal and sanguinary cast. They kept mankind perpetually in awe, were calculated to make the people cruel; and to give the priests an unlimited authority. These barbarous absurdities, though they might justly excite the detestation of the Spaniards, could not justify their attempts to suppress them by the greatest cruelties: They could not justify them in attacking and murdering a people assembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in assassinating the nobles in order to seize upon their possessions.

ON his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards besieged in the place, where he had left them to guard the emperor. It was not without difficulty that he opened

opened a passage to join them; and when he was at their head, he was obliged to sustain many powerful attacks. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They cheerfully devoted themselves to certain death. Naked and ill armed, they threw themselves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms useless, or wresting them out of their hands. Several attempted to enter Cortez's palace by the embrasures, where the cannon were placed: and there was not a man who would not have courted death to procure the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of these foreign usurpers. Cortez having taken possession of a temple which was an advantageous post, was viewing from a platform the engagement in which the Indians fought desperately for the recovery of their lost liberty: when two young Mexican noblemen threw away their arms, and came over to him as deserters. Placing one knee on the ground in a suppliant posture, they seized him, and threw themselves from the platform, in hopes of making him perish by dragging him along with them. Cortez disengaged himself from them, and kept his station on the balustrade: and the two Mexicans died victims of this noble and useful enterprize.

THIS and some other exploits which shewed equal spirit, made the Spaniards desirous of coming to terms of accommodation. Montezuma consents to become the instrument of his people's slavery, and appeared upon the rampart to persuade his subjects to retire. Their resentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the shower of arrows they discharged at him.

THE successor to this base monarch, was of a haughty and intrepid disposition. He united judgment with readiness of conception. He knew how to retrieve his affairs, and to defend himself in circumstances of danger. His sagacity discovered to him the difficulty of gaining  
any

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any advantage over an enemy so superior in their weapons, by vigorous attacks, and he thought it the best expedient to reduce them by famine. Cortez no sooner perceived this change of measures, than he thought of securing a retreat into the country of Tlascala.

THE execution of this project required great dispatch, impenetrable secrecy, and well concerted measures. The march was begun in the middle of the night, the army was silently filing off along a bank, when it was found that its motions had been observed with a spirit of disguise, of which they were thought incapable; his rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by canoes distributed on each side of the causeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place a part of them at the extremity of this causeway, or even to break it, all the Spaniards would inevitably have perished in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them the enemy knew not how to avail himself of all his advantages, and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone several dangers and fatigues. The confusion they were in still exposed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger, by a fresh error of the enemy.

No sooner had the morning discovered to the Mexicans the field of battle of which they were masters, than they perceived among the slain, two of Montezuma's sons, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with some other prisoners. This sight chilled them with horror. The idea of having massacred the children after having sacrificed the father, was too strong for men enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites, the time they owed to the preservation of their country.

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DURING this interval, the beaten army which had lost two hundred Spaniards, a thousand Tlascalans, the greater part of their artillery, and which had scarce a soldier remaining that was not wounded, was resuming its march. The enemy soon pursued, harassed, and at length surrounded them in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the small arms, the pikes and swords did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing, and charging their enemies with great violence. Courage was just upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez decided the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the new world, the fate of the battle depended upon the royal standard. These colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions, were at no great distance from him. He immediately rushed forward with the bravest of his companions, to take it from the enemy. One of them seized and carried it into the Spanish ranks. The Mexicans immediately lost all courage; and throwing down their arms, betook themselves to flight. Cortez pursued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlascala without opposition.

CORTEZ did not relinquish either the design, or the hopes of subduing the empire of Mexico, but he adopted a new plan; and proposed to make one part of the inhabitants assist him in the reduction of the other. The form of government in Mexico, the disposition of the people, and its situation, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

The empire was elective, and certain princes or caciques were the electors. They usually chose one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that so long as he filled the throne, the rains should fall in due season, the rivers cause no inundations, the fields be

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exempt from sterility, and that mankind should not be destroyed by the malignant effects of an infectious air. This custom may have some reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are still to be found among almost all the nations in the world. It might likewise probably be the intention of this whimsical oath to intimate to the new sovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a state almost always arise from wrong measures of administration, his government ought to be conducted with such moderation and wisdom, that public calamities might never be considered as the consequences of his imprudence, or as the just punishment of his licentiousness. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown: but superstition gave the priests a considerable influence in their elections. On his accession to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the prisoners to the Gods. This prince though elective, had an absolute authority, as there were no written laws, and he was at liberty to make what alterations he pleased in the old customs. Almost all the forms of justice and ceremonies of the court had the sanction of religion. The same crimes that are punished in all other places, were punishable by the laws, but the criminals were often saved by the interposition of the priests. There were two laws which had a tendency to destroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and superstition. By these laws, persons offending against the sanctity of religion, or the majesty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is easy to discern how much laws of so little precision might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the interested views of priests and courtiers. The steps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility rose to posts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perseverance. In the temples a more  
painful

painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors.

AMONG the great numbers of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were held in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed that the provinces in general disliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico, the nobility and persons of fortune, whose intercourse with the people had abated the force of their prejudices, and softened their manners, had lost their attachment to this mode of religion; and that many of the nobility disliked the performance of the low services exacted of them by their masters.

HAVING received some small reinforcements from the Spaniards, obtained some troops from the republic of Tlascala, and formed some new alliances, Cortez bent his course once more towards the capital of the empire.

MEXICO was situated on an island in the middle of a large lake. If the Spaniards may be credited, this city contained twenty thousand houses; the inhabitants were very numerous, and the buildings magnificent. The emperor's palace, which was built with marble and jasper, was of a prodigious extent. Its fountains, baths, ornaments, and statues representing animals, excited universal admiration. It was full of pictures, which though made of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Most of the caciques, as well as the emperor had their menageries, replenished with all the animals of the new continent; and apartments for the ar-



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range of natural curiosities. Their gardens were filled with plants of every species. The beauties of nature, and whatever is rare or glittering in her productions, must be an object of luxury to an opulent people, where nature is beautiful, and the arts are not brought to perfection. The temples which were numerous, were in general magnificent; but polluted with blood, and hung round with the heads of the unhappy victims who had been sacrificed. One of the greatest beauties of Mexico, was a square to which more than a hundred thousand persons usually resorted: it was covered with tents, and shops, where the merchants exposed to view all the riches of the country, and the manufactures of the Mexicans: birds of every colour, brilliant shells, a profusion of flowers, together with pieces of workmanship in gold and enamel, gave these markets a more splendid and beautiful appearance to the eye, than is to be met with in the richest fair in Europe. One hundred thousand canoes were constantly passing and repassing between the city, and the borders of the lake; which were ornamented with more than fifty cities, and a multitude of towns and villages. Upon this lake were three causeways of considerable length, which were master pieces of Mexican industry. When we consider that these people were of no very remote antiquity, that they had no intercourse with any enlightened nation, no iron, writing, or any of those arts which assist us in the knowledge and exercise of others; and that they lived in a climate where the invention of man is not excited by necessity; we must acknowledge them to be one of the most ingenious people in the world.

The falsity of this pompous description may easily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contrasting the present state of Mexico, with that in which its conquerors pretend to have found it, that this point can be decided. The ravages occasioned

sioned by destrutive tyranny, and a long continued series of oppressions are sufficiently known. But if we compare the different accounts of the Spaniards, we shall then be able to judge of the credibility they deserve. When they wish to imprint a great idea of their courage and success, they represent the empire they have subdued, as a formidable, rich, and civilized kingdom. If on the contrary they mean to justify their cruelties, no people were ever so base, so corrupt, so barbarous, as these.

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WERE it possible to form a proper judgment of a people that exists no more, it might possibly be said that the Mexicans were subject to a despotism, as cruel as it was ill concerted; that they rather conceived the necessity of having regular tribunals of justice, than they could feel the advantages of them; that the small number of arts they followed, were as defective in execution, as they were rich in materials; that they were farther distant from a savage, than they were near to a civilized people; and that fear, the chief spring of all arbitrary governments, served them instead of morality, and principles.

CORTEZ began, by gaining over to his interest the caciques who reigned in the cities that were situated on the borders of the lake. Some of them joined the Spaniards with their forces; others were reduced to submission. Cortez took possession of the three avenues that lead to Mexico. He wanted to make himself master of the navigation of the lake, he built some brigantines, on board of which he put part of his artillery; and, in this posture, waited till the want of provisions should produce a surrender of the empire of the new world.

GUATIMOZIN exerted his utmost efforts to relieve the capital. His subjects fought with as much fury as ever. The Spaniards, however, maintained their posts, and pushed their attacks into the heart of the city. The

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Mexicans fearing it would be taken, and perceiving that there must soon be a total want of provisions, returned their attention to the preservation of their emperor. He consented to attempt his escape, with a view of maintaining the war in the northern part of his dominions. To facilitate his retreat, a party of his soldiers generously devoted themselves to death, by diverting the attention of the besiegers: but the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spanish revenue suspecting that he had treasures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red hot coals, to extort a confession. His favourite who underwent the same torture, complaining to him of his sufferings, the emperor said, *Am I upon a bed of roses?* An expression equal to any of those which history has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind. An expression which the Mexicans shall one day repeat to their children, when the period shall arrive, in which the Spaniards shall expiate the cruelties they have exercised, and that race of destroyers be plunged into the sea or drowned in their own blood. These people may perhaps preserve the actions of their martyrs, and the history of their persecutions. In these it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from a bed of fire, and that three years after he was publicly hanged under pretence of his having conspired against his oppressors and executioners.

The Spaniards being masters of Mexico, extend its boundaries.

In arbitrary states, the fall of the prince, and the reduction of the capital, usually bring on the conquest and subjection of the whole realm. The people cannot preserve their attachment to an oppressive government, or to a tyrant who thinks to make himself more respectable, by never appearing in public. Accustomed to acknowledge no right but that of force, they never fail to submit to the strongest party. This was the case in the revolution of Mexico. All the provinces submitted without

without resistance, to the victor, who gave the name of **B O O K**  
 new Spain to this empire, the frontiers of which were **II.**  
 still extended, though already five hundred leagues long,  
 and two hundred in breadth.

THE first step the conquerors took, was to add to their acquisitions the vast tract which lies to the southward, and extends from Guatemala to the gulph of Darien. This accession of territory, though without much loss of time, blood, or treasure, was of little importance. The provinces of which it consists, are hardly known; and inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who in general are poor, and have by their tyranny, compelled the Indians to retire into the mountains, and impenetrable forests. Among all these savages, the Mosquitos are the only people who retain the form of a nation. Having for a long time struggled to preserve the fertile plains they inhabited in the country of Nicaragua, they took refuge among the barren rocks at the cape of Gracias à Dios. Defended on the inland side by impassable morasses, and on that of the sea by dangerous shoals, they defy the rancour of their enemies. Their intercourse with the English and French pirates, whom they have frequently accompanied in the most dangerous enterprizes, has inflamed their hatred towards their persecutors, increased their natural audacity, and taught them the use of fire-arms: but their numbers which were never considerable, have been continually on the decline. As they do not at present exceed two thousand men, their weakness puts it out of their power to give the least alarm.

THE increased extent of New Spain towards the north, is more considerable, and may prove of much more importance. We have hitherto been speaking only of New Mexico, which was discovered in 1553, and conquered in the beginning of the last century; it revolted about the middle of it, and was soon after reduced to subjection. All that is known concerning

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this vast province is, that the Spaniards have settled a few wandering savages there, introduced a little agriculture, worked some rich mines imperfectly, and established a settlement called Sante-Fé. The conquest of this inland territory, would have been productive of much greater advantages to the maritime parts, if, during the hundred years since it was undertaken, it had been prosecuted with the attention it deserved.

THE old empire of Mexico extended its boundaries almost to the entrance of the Vermilion bay. From these limits, to the place where the continent is united to California, is a gulf almost twenty degrees in length. Its breadth is sometimes sixty, and sometimes fifty leagues, seldom less than forty. In this extent there are many sand banks, and a considerable number of islands, and the coast is inhabited by several savage nations, which are for the most part enemies. The Spaniards have here formed certain scattered colonies, to which, agreeably to their custom, they have given the name of provinces. Their missionaries have carried their discoveries further, and flattered themselves that they should procure to their country greater riches than it had ever acquired from its most celebrated possessions.

SEVERAL causes have been for a long time combined, to render their labours ineffectual. No sooner had they got together, and civilized some of the savages, than they were carried off to be employed in the mines. This barbarity ruined the rising settlements, and prevented other Indians from incorporating with them. The Spaniards, too remote from the inspection of government, gave themselves up to the most atrocious and unheard of enormities. Quicksilver, stuffs, and other merchandize were carried thither from Vera-Cruz on mules through a difficult and dangerous way of six or seven hundred leagues; a circumstance, which at the end of the journey,

ney, added so considerably to their value, that most of the persons concerned in the working of the mines, were obliged to abandon them, from the impossibility of supporting them. At last certain clans of savages, stimulated either by ferocity, or the well-grounded apprehension of being one day enslaved, unexpectedly fell on the workmen, who still obstinately persisted in struggling against so many difficulties.

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It was hoped that a new arrangement of things would take place, when in 1746, by order of government, the jesuit Ferdinand Consag had sailed through the whole gulf of California. This voyage executed with the utmost care and with great judgment, instructed the Spaniards in every thing that was of importance for them to know. They became acquainted with the coasts of this continent, the harbours which nature has opened there, the sandy and dry places which are not susceptible of cultivation, and the rivers, which by the fertility they produce on their banks, point out the proper spot for the formation of colonies. Nothing in future could hinder the vessels from Acapulco from entering into its sea, carrying at a moderate expence, into the bordering provinces, missionaries, soldiers, miners, provisions, merchandize, and every thing necessary to colonies, and returning laden with metals. The imagination of the Spaniards went still further. They already saw the whole continent subdued as far as new Mexico, and a new empire rise, as extensive, and as opulent as the old, and which would transcend the former in the mildness and salubrity of its climate.

THESE hopes were not chimerical; but in order to have them realized, the natives of the country must either be gained over by humane actions, or subdued by force of arms. The destroyers of the new world could never from an idea of employing the first of these expedients,

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expedients, and they were not in a condition of putting the second in practice before the year 1768.

THEIR endeavours have not been crowned with complete success. They advanced with considerable rapidity in Mexico, and in every region which was populous, or whose inhabitants were collected in a small compass. Countries less inhabited were not so soon reduced, because there was a necessity of finding men to subdue, and because they fled into the forests whenever the Spaniards appeared, and did not become visible till want of subsistence had obliged them to retire. Thus it was not till after three years hunting, toil, and cruelty, that they completed the conquest of the Seris, Platos, and Sobaiporis. Their neighbours, the Papagos, Nijoras, and Sobas, despairing of being able to defend their liberty, submitted to the yoke without resistance. Troops were still employed in 1771 in pursuing the Apaches, the most warlike of these nations, and who had the greatest passion for independency. They despair of subjecting them, but they labour to exterminate them, at least to drive them at a distance from New Biscay, which would be exposed to their incursions.

THE wealth which they have lately found in the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, which form what is now called the New Andalusia, appears to transcend every thing that has been seen in any other place. There is a gold mine fourteen leagues in extent, which at the depth of two feet offers immense treasures. Of the silver mines, one produces eight marks per quintal of ore, and the stones which they draw out of the other are almost entirely composed of virgin silver. If the court of Madrid, which has just published these discoveries, hath not been deceived; if the mines which are often near the surface of earth, and have an inconsiderable depth, do not present them with delusive hopes, the unhappy savages, who have very lately been subjected, will be all buried alive in the bowels of the earth.

NEW

NEW Spain is almost entirely situated within the torrid zone. The air is excessively warm, moist, and unwholesome on the coasts of the north sea. These defects of the climate are infinitely less felt on the coasts of the south sea, and hardly at all in the inland country, which is intersected by a chain of mountains, that are supposed to be a continuation of the Cordeleras.

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THE quality of the soil has the same variations. The eastern part is low, marshy, overflowed in the rainy seasons, covered with impenetrable forests, and totally uncultivated. It may be imagined, that if the Spaniards leave it in this state of desolation, it is because they judged that a desert and destructive frontier would furnish a better defence against an enemy's fleet, than they could ever expect either from fortifications and troops, the maintenance of which would cost immense sums; or from the natives of the country, who are effeminate and little attached to the government of their conquerors. The western territory is higher, of a better quality, on which there are many fields, and several houses built. In the low lands there are districts, on which nature has been very liberal; but, like every country situated under the tropicks, they abound more in fruits than in corn.

Climate,  
soil, and  
population  
of Mexico.

THE population of this vast empire is not less various than its soil. Its most distinguished inhabitants are the Spaniards, sent hither by the court, to fill the places of government. They are obliged, like those in the metropolis, who aspire to any ecclesiastical, civil, or military employments, to prove that they have been neither Hereticks, Jews, Mohammedans, nor persons who have had any contests with the inquisition in their family, for four generations. Merchants who would go to Mexico, as well as to other parts of America, without becoming colonists, are bound by the same forms. They also oblige them to swear that they have three hundred palms



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palms of merchandise, their own property, in the fleet in which they embark, and that they will not carry their wives with them. On these absurd conditions, they become the principal agents of the European commerce with the Indies. Though their charter is only to continue three years, and a little longer for countries more remote, it is of great importance. To them alone belongs the right of selling, as commissioners, the major part of the cargo. If these laws were observed, the merchants stationed in the new world, would be confined to dispose of what they have received on their own account.

THE predilection which administration has for Spaniards born in Europe, has reduced the Spanish Creoles to acquiesce in subordinate stations. The descendants of the companions of Cortez, and of those who came after them, being constantly excluded from all places of honour or of administration, that were any way considerable, have seen the gradual decay of the power that supported their fathers. Accustomed to that unjust contempt with which they have been treated, they have at last become really contemptible. They have totally lost in the vices which originate from indolence, from the heat of the climate, and from a superfluous enjoyment of all things, that firmness, and that sort of pride which hath ever characterized their nation. A barbarous luxury, shameful pleasures, and romantic intrigues have enervated all the vigour of their minds, and superstition hath completed the ruin of their virtues. Blindly devoted to priests too ignorant to enlighten them by their instructions, too depraved to edify them by their example, and too mercenary to attend to both these duties of their function, they have no attachment to any part of religion, but that which enfeebles the mind, and have neglected what might have contributed to rectify their morals.

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THE Mestees, who constitute the third order of citizens, are held in still greater contempt. It is well known that the court of Madrid, in order to replenish a part of that dreadful vacancy, which the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors had occasioned, and to regain the confidence of those who had escaped their fury, encouraged as much as possible the marriage of Spaniards with Indian women. These alliances, which became pretty common throughout all America, were particularly frequent in Mexico, where the women had more understanding, and were more agreeable than in other places. The Creoles degraded this mixed progeny, as much as they had been degraded by the Europeans. Their condition, equivocal at first, in process of time at last was fixed between the whites and the blacks.

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THESE blacks are not very numerous in new Spain. As the natives are more intelligent, more robust, and more industrious than those of the other colonies, they have hardly introduced any Africans except such as were required either to indulge the caprice, or perform the domestic service of rich people. These slaves, who are much beloved by their masters, on whom they absolutely depend, who purchased them at an extravagant price, and who make them the ministers of their pleasures, take advantage of the high favour they enjoy, to oppress the Mexicans. They assume over these men, who are called free, an ascendant which keeps up an implacable hatred between the two nations. The law has studied to encourage this aversion, by taking effectual measures to prevent all connection between them. Negroes are prohibited from having any amorous correspondence with the Indians; the men, on pain of being mutilated, the women of being severely punished. On all these accounts, the Africans, who in other settlements are enemies to Europeans, are in the Spanish Indies their warm friends.

AUTHOR-

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## II.

AUTHORITY has no need of this support, at least in Mexico, where population is no longer what it was formerly. The first historians, and those who copied them, have recorded, that the Spaniards found there ten millions of souls. This was the exaggerated account of conquerors to exalt the magnificence of their triumph : and it was adopted without examination, with so much the more readiness, as it rendered them more odious. We need only follow with attention those ruffians who at first desolated these fine countries, in order to be convinced that they had not succeeded in multiplying men at Mexico and the adjacent parts, but by depopulating the center of the empire ; and that the provinces which are remote from the capital, differed in nothing from the other deserts of South and North America. It is making a great concession to allow that the population of Mexico has only been exaggerated one half: for it does not now exceed one million.

It is generally believed that the first conquerors massacred the Indians out of wantonness, and that even the priests incited them to acts of ferocity. Undoubtedly these inhuman soldiers frequently shed blood without even an apparent motive ; and certainly their fanatic missionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done. This was not however the real cause, the principal source of the depopulation of Mexico ; it was the work of a slow tyranny, and of that avarice which exacted from its wretched inhabitants more rigorous toil, than was compatible with their constitution and the climate.

THIS oppression was coeval with conquest. All the lands were divided between the crown, the companions of Cortez, and the grandees or ministers who were most in favour at the court of Spain. The Mexicans, appointed to the royal domains, were destined to public labours, which originally were considerable. The lot  
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of those who were employed on the estates of individuals, was still more wretched. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were fed very indifferently; they had no wages given them, and services were required of them, under which the most robust men would have sunk. Their misfortunes excited the compassion of Bartholomew de las Casas.

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THIS man, so famous in the annals of the new world, had accompanied his father in the first voyage of Columbus. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians struck him to such a degree, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. As he was more a *man* than a *priest*, he felt more for the cruelties exercised against them, than for their superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort the people to whom he was attached, or to soften their tyrants. This conduct which made him be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the success he expected. The hope of keeping them in awe, by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept the bishoprick of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an insufficient barrier against that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then, that this courageous, firm, disinterested man cited his country to the tribunal of the whole universe. In his treatise of the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuses them of having destroyed fifteen millions of Indians. They ventured to find fault with the acrimony of his style, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his disposition, and the sublimity of his sentiments, have branded his barbarous countrymen with a disgrace, which time hath not, and never will efface.

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THE court of Madrid awakenad by the representations of the virtuous Las Casas, and by the indignation of the whole world, became sensible at last that the tyranny it permitted, was repugnant to religion, to humanity, and to policy, and resolved to break the chains of the Mexicans. Their liberty was now only constrained by the sole condition, that they should not quit the territory where they were settled. This precaution owed its origin to the fear that was entertained of their going to join the wandering savages to the north and south of the empire.

With their liberty they ought to have restored them their lands; but this was not done. This injustice obliged them to work solely for their oppressors. It was only decreed, that the Spaniards, in whose service they laboured, should stipulate to keep them well, and pay them to the amount of 120 livres (about 5*l.* 5*s.*) a year.

From these profits the tribute imposed by government was subtracted, together with an hundred sous (4*s.* 4*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) for an institution, which it is astonishing the conquerors should have thought of establishing. This was a fund set apart in each community, and appropriated to the relief of such Indians as were decayed or indisposed, and to their support under private or public calamities.

THE distribution of this fund was committed to their caciques. These were not the descendents of those whom they found in the country at the time of the conquest. The Spaniards chose them from among those Indians who appeared the most attached to their interests; and were under no apprehensions at making these dignities hereditary. Their authority was limited to the supporting the police in their district, which in general extended eight or ten leagues; to the receiving the tribute of those Indians who toiled on their account, that of the others being stopt by the masters to whom they were subjected; and to the preventing their flight by  
keeping

keeping them always under their inspection, and the not suffering them to contract any engagement without their consent. As a reward of their services, these magistrates obtained from government a property. They were permitted to take out of the common stock, five sous (two-pence halfpenny) annually for every Indian under their jurisdiction. At last they were empowered to get their fields cultivated by such young men as were not yet subject to the poll-tax; and to employ girls till the time of their marriage in such occupations as were adapted to their sex, without allowing them any salary except their maintenance.

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THESE institutions, which totally changed the condition of the Indians of Mexico, irritated the Spaniards to a degree not to be conceived. Their pride would not suffer them to consider the Americans as free men, nor would their avarice permit them to pay for labour, which hitherto had cost them nothing. They employed successively, or in combination, craft, remonstrances, and violence, to effect the subversion of an arrangement which so strongly contradicted their warmest passions; but their efforts were ineffectual. Las Casas had raised up for his beloved Indians, protectors who seconded his design with zeal and warmth. The Mexicans themselves finding a support, cited their oppressors before the tribunals, and even before those that were either weak or corrupted by the court. They carried their resolution so far, as even unanimously to refuse to work for those who had treated any of their countrymen with injustice. This mutual agreement, more than any other circumstance, gave solidity to the regulations which had been decreed. The order prescribed by the laws, was gradually established. There was no longer any regular system of oppression, but merely several of those particular vexations, which a vanquished people, who have

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lost their government, can hardly avoid from those who had subdued it.

THESE clandestine acts of injustice did not prevent the Mexicans from recovering from time to time, certain detached portions of that immense territory of which their fathers had been despoiled. They purchased them of the royal domain, or of the great proprietors. It was not their labour which enabled them to make these acquisitions: for this they were indebted to the felicity of having discovered, some of them, mines, others, treasures, which had been concealed at the time of the conquest. The greatest number derived their resources from the priests and monks, to whom they were indebted for existence.

EVEN those, who experienced a fortune less propitious, procured for themselves by the sole profits of their pay more conveniencies than they had enjoyed before they underwent a foreign yoke. We should be very much deceived if we should judge of the ancient prosperity of the inhabitants of Mexico, by what has been said of its emperor, its court, its capital, and the governors of its provinces. Despotism had there produced those fatal effects, which it produces every where. The whole state was sacrificed to the caprices, pleasures, and magnificence of a small number of persons.

THE government drew considerable advantages from the mines which it caused to be worked, and still greater from those, which were in the hands of individuals. The salt works greatly added to its revenue. Those who followed agriculture, at the time of harvest, paid in kind a third of all the produce of the lands; whether they belonged to them as their own property, or whether they were only the farmers of them. Hunters, fishermen, potters, and all mechanics paid the same proportion of their industry every month. Even the poor were taxed at certain fixed contributions, which their labour or their alms might put them in a condition to pay.

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THE common people among the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himself and the nobles, were only covered with a kind of mantle, composed of a piece of square cotton tied on the right shoulder. Instead of shoes they wore sandals. Women among the common people for their whole apparel had only a kind of shift with half sleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open on the bosom. Common people were prohibited from raising their houses above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. The greatest part were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had no greater share of conveniency than elegance. The inside was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain straw and coverlets of cotton. For their seats, they had only little sacks of palm leaves; but it was their custom to sit on the ground, and even to eat in that posture. Their food, of which animal meat was seldom a part, had little diversity and little delicacy. Their most ordinary aliment was maize made into a paste, or prepared with various seasonings. With these they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad smell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or seasoned with honey or pimento, was their best beverage. They had besides these, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality: for all strong drinks were so rigidly prohibited, that no one could use them, without a particular permission from government, which was granted to the sick and aged. It was on certain solemnities alone, and in public labours, that each person had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenness was considered as the most scandalous of vices. Those who were found in this situation were shaved in public, and their houses were pulled down. If they exercised any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.



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IT is a matter of astonishment, that men who had so few wants, should ever submit to the yoke of slavery. That the citizen accustomed to the indulgencies and conveniencies of life, should purchase them every day with the sacrifice of his liberty, is not the least surprising; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the social chain that unites them should calmly submit to slavery, and never think, that there is frequently but a river to cross in order to be free, this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and superstition render men insensible to the feelings of nature.

THE Mexicans are now less unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholesome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houses are better built, better disposed, and better furnished. Shoes, drawers, shirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, constitute their dress. The dignity which they have agreed to annex to these enjoyments, has made them better oeconomists, and more laborious. This ease however is far from universal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny seldom sleeps: but we often find it with pleasure in remote parts where the Spaniards have not become numerous, and where they have in some measure become Mexicans.

THE inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are distinguished beyond all others. They owe their superiority to the advantage of having had Las Casas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppressed. They surpass their countrymen in size, genius, and strength. Their language has a peculiar softness and elegance. Their territory, without being a better soil than the rest, is infinitely richer in all sorts of productions. They are painters, musicians, and dexterous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating those  
 works,

works, pictures and stuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elsewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community consisting of four thousand families, amongst which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is situated, is a scene on which the inhabitants continually display their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themselves with surprising agility. They excel no less in the chace of bulls, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exercises. They build towns and castles of wood, which they cover with oil cloth, and which they besiege in form. In short, theatrical representations constitute one of their ordinary amusements. From these particulars we see what the Mexicans are capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have passed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had possessed moderation and good sense enough to relax the chains of that servitude instead of rivetting them.

THE employments of this people are very various. The most intelligent, and those who are in easy circumstances, devote themselves to the manufactures of indispensable necessity, which are dispersed through the whole empire. The most beautiful are fabricated among the people of Tlascala. Their old capital and the new one, which are called Angelos, are the center of this industry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, calicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain slight silks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glasses, and a great deal of hardware. The arts must necessarily have made a greater progress in a province which hath been able to preserve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with some management after the conquest, and which

Productions of  
Mexico.

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had always manifested superior penetration; whether owing to its climate or its government. To these advantages is joined that of its situation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who must necessarily pass over its territory when they go to purchase the European merchandise that is landed at Vera-Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not supply them with, or what was sold too dear.

THE care of flocks affords a maintenance to some Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more distinguished employments. America, at the time it was discovered, had neither hogs, sheep, oxen, horses, nor even any domestic animal. Columbus carried some of these useful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally dispersed, and at Mexico more than in any other place. These have multiplied prodigiously. They count their horned cattle by thousands, whose skins are become an object of considerable exportation. The horses are degenerated, but the quality is compensated by the number. Hog's lard is here substituted for butter. Sheep's wool is here dry, coarse and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

THE vine and olive tree have experienced the same degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at first prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the metropolis. In 1706, permission was given to the Jesuits, and a little afterwards to the marquis Del Valle, a descendent from Cortez, to cultivate them. The experiments have not proved successful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned, but nobody has solicited the liberty of following an example, which did not flatter them with any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more successful. Cotton, sugar, silk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven more or less. Labour is encouraged by the happy circumstance which befel the Spaniards

Spaniards of discovering iron mines, which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as also mines of copper that is hard enough to serve for tools of agriculture. All these objects, however, for want of hands or activity, are confined to an interior circulation. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineel, which belong to the trade of Mexico with other nations.

THE vanilla is a plant, which like ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, embraces them closely, and raises itself by their aid. Its stem is but very small in diameter, and is not quite round. Though it is very pliable, it is yet pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very adherent, and of a green colour. It is intersected like the vine, with knots which are at the distance of six or seven inches from each other. From these knots issue leaves resembling those of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more solid. They are of a vivid green colour, their upper surface glossy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackish.

A SMALL pod about six inches long, and four lines broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, thick and brittle, may be considered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of this pod is lined with a pulp that is reddish, aromatic, a little acrid, and full of a black, oily, and balsamic liquor, in which an infinite number of black, shining, and almost imperceptible seeds float.

THE season for gathering the pods, begins about the latter end of September, and lasts till the end of December. They are dried in the shade: and when dry and fit for keeping, they are anointed externally with a little oil of cocoa or of calba, to render them supple, to preserve them the better, and to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle.

THIS is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate: a practice which has passed from the Mexicans to the

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Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is esteemed, which grows in the inaccessible mountains of New Spain. We are equally ignorant how many different species there are of it; which are the most valuable; what is the soil which suits them best; how they are cultivated, and in what manner they are propagated. All these circumstances are known only to the natives of the country. It is pretended that they have only been able to preserve to themselves this source of wealth by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to their tyrants, any thing respecting the cultivation of the vanilla, and would suffer the most cruel tortures rather than be perjured. It is more probable that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors, who content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to an indolent life and to an effeminate ignorance, equally condemn both the curiosities of natural history, and the researches of those who apply themselves to it. Indigo however is better known to them.

INDIGO is a kind of plant, whose root is three or four lines thick, and more than a foot long, of a faint smell something like parsley. From this root issues a single stem nearly of the same thickness, about two feet high, straight, hard, almost woody, covered with a bark slightly split, of a grey ash colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddish at the extremity, and without any appearance of pith in the inside. The leaves ranged by two and two together around the stalk, are of an oval form, smooth, soft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under side, and connected by a very short peduncle. From about one third of the stem to the extremity, there are ears that are loaded with very small flowers from a dozen to fifteen, but destitute of smell. The pistil, which is in the  
midst

midst of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the seeds are inclosed.

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THIS plant requires a smooth rich soil, well tilled, and not too dry. The seed of it, which as to figure and colour resembles gun-powder, is sowed in little furrows that are about the breadth of the hough, two or three inches deep, and at a foot's distance from each other, and in as straight a line as possible. Continual attention must be paid to the plucking up of the weeds, which would soon choak the plant. Though it may be sown in all seasons, the spring is commonly preferred. Moisture causes this plant to shoot above the surface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning knives; and cut again at the end of every six weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It lasts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afresh.

As this plant soon exhausts the soil, because it does not absorb a sufficient quantity of air and dew to moisten the earth, it is of advantage to the cultivator to have a vast space which may remain covered with trees, as long as till it becomes necessary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo: for trees are to be considered as syphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating substance; syphons, into which the vapours and the juices being alternately drawn up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the sap ascends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree redescend into the earth, and restore to it in dew, what it loses in sap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that when there are no trees to preserve the fields in a proper state for the sowing of indigo, it is customary to cover these which are exhausted by this plant with potatoes

**B O O K** potatoes or lianes, whose creeping branches preserve the  
**II.** freshness of the earth, and whose leaves when burnt,  
 renew its fertility.

**INDIGO** is distinguished into two kinds, the true, and the bastard. Though the first fetches an higher price by reason of its perfection, it is usually advantageous to cultivate the other, because it is heavier. A greater number of lands is found propitious to the former; the second prospers better in those which are most exposed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and decays from the puncture of a worm that is very frequent; at others, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the space of twenty four hours by caterpillars. This last accident which is but too common, has given occasion to the saying, that the cultivators of indigo go to bed rich and rise in the morning totally ruined.

**THIS** production ought to be gathered in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by shaking it. When gathered it is thrown into the steeping vat, which is a large tub, filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty four hours at furthest, is completed. A cock is then turned to let the water run into the second tub called the mortar or pounding tub. They immediately clean the steeping vat, in order to throw in fresh plants, and continue the work without interruption.

**THE** water, which has run into the pounding tub, is found impregnated with a very subtile earth, which alone constitutes the dregs or blue substance, that is the object of this process, and which must be separated from the useless salt of the plant, because this makes the dregs swim on the surface. To effect this, the water is forcibly shaken with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This operation requires the greatest

greatest precaution. If the agitation be discontinued too soon, the part that is used in dying not being sufficiently separated from the salt would be lost. If on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the entire separation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the salt reacting on the dregs would excite a second fermentation that would alter the dye, spoil its colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. These accidents are prevented by a close attention to the least alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time with a proper vessel. When he perceives that the coloured particles collect by separating from the rest of the liquor, he gives over shaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to settle, till the water be quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this useless water is let out.

THE blue dregs remaining at the bottom, having acquired the consistence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which make it pass into the settler. After it is still more cleared of much superfluous water in this third and last tub, it is drained into sacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker consistence, is put into chests, where it entirely loses its moisture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for sale.

WASHERWOMEN use it to give a blueish colour to linen: painters also employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The ancients procured it from the East Indies; in modern times it has been transplanted into America. The cultivation of it, successively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, San Domingo, and Mexico.



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Mexico. The indigo, known under the name of Guatimala, from whence it comes, is the most perfect of all. New Spain derives very considerable advantage from this plant; but it gains still more from the trade of cochineal.

THE nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor scarlet could be made, and which is found only in Mexico, hath been long unknown, even to nations who made the most use of it. The Spaniards, who are naturally reserved, and who instantly become mysterious when the discourse turns upon their colonies, kept a secret, which every thing induced them to believe was of the last importance to them. At last it became known that it was an insect of the size and form of a bug.

THIS insect, like all animals, has two sexes. The female is badly shaped, tardy, and stupid; its eyes, mouth, antennæ, and feet are fixed so deep, and are so concealed on the folds of the skin, that it is impossible to distinguish them without a microscope. On which account, this animal was for a long time taken for the seed of a plant.

THE male is very scarce, and adequate to three hundred females or more, and is active, small, and slender in comparison of the female: its neck is narrower than the head, and still narrower than the rest of the body. The thorax is of an elliptic form, a little longer than the neck and head together, and flattened below; its antennæ are joined, and out of each joint issue four bristles, that are disposed in pairs on each side. It has six feet, each formed of distinct parts. From the posterior extremity of its body, two large hairs or bristles stretch out, that are four or five times the length of the insects. It bears two wings that are fixed to the upper part of the thorax, which fall, like the wings of ordinary flies, when it walks or rests. These wings, which  
are

are of an oblong form, are suddenly diminished in breadth at the point where they are connected to the body. They are strengthened by two long muscles, one of which extends itself on the outside all around the wing, and the other, which is internal and parallel to the former, seems interrupted towards the summit of the wings. The male is of a bright red, the female of a deeper colour.

THE shrub, on which both live, called the Nopal or Indian fig, is armed with prickles, and is about five feet high. Its leaves are thick and oval; its flowers large, and its fruit is of the shape of a fig. It is filled with a red juice, to which the cochineal probably owes its colour.

THE Indian fig is commonly propagated from one or two of its leaves put in a hole, and covered with earth. The cultivation of it consists only in extirpating the weeds that surround it. It must often be renewed, because the younger it is, the better and more considerable is its produce. It is found in various countries of Mexico, at Tlascala, Chalula, Chiapa, and New Galicia; but it is not common. The people never plant it, and the cochineal, which is such a rude nature of itself produces, is called wild, and is of little or no value. The Indians alone of Guaxaca, devote themselves wholly to this species of industry. They are never discouraged either by the continual attention it requires, nor by the too common misfortunes to which it exposes them. Their intelligence, activity, and easy circumstances, enable them to support a bad harvest, and wait for a good one. In general, these crops are more regular in a dry soil, in which the nopal flourishes, and under a temperate sky, where the cochineal is exposed to fewer accidents, than in those parts of the province where the cold and heat are more sensibly felt.

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As soon as the favourable season arrives, the Mexicans, if I may use the expression, sow the cochineals on the plant that is proper for them by fastening to it little nests of moss, that contain each twelve or fifteen. Three or four days after they lay their little ones, which spread themselves with astonishing celerity over all the branches. They soon lose this activity, and are seen to fasten themselves, without rambling any longer, to the most nutritive and best exposed part of the leaf, until they have received their whole growth. They do not gnaw it, they only puncture it, and extract the juice with a small trunk, with which nature has provided them for this purpose.

THREE crops of cochineal are made every year, which are so many fresh generations of this insect. The last produces only an indifferent cochineal, because it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, which have been scraped in order to take away the new born insects, which otherwise it would be hardly possible to gather; and because the young cochineals are then mixed with the old; a circumstance which considerably diminishes their value. Immediately before the rains, the branches of the nopal are cut, in order to save the little insects which are on them. These are laid up in the houses, where the leaves maintain their freshness, as the leaves of all mucilaginous plants. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad season. As soon as that is over, they are placed on the trees without doors, where the vivifying freshness of the air soon makes them propagate.

THE cochineals are no sooner gathered, but they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The best is, exposing them to the sun for several days, where they take a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The second is putting them in an oven, where they assume a greyish colour with veins of purple, which has given them the name

name of *jaspéada*. But the most imperfect, which is what the Indians most generally practise, consists in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize, which process frequently occasions their being burnt, and gives them the appellation of *negra*. BOOK  
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THOUGH the cochineal is classed in the animal kingdom, which is a species the most perishable, it notwithstanding never spoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preserved in all its virtue for ages. Its price, which is always very high, might justly excite the emulation of those nations which cultivate the American islands, and of other nations who inhabit regions, whose temperature would be propitious to this insect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the sole possession of this rich production. Independently of what it furnishes Asia with, it sends every year to Europe about two thousand five hundred bags or sacks, which are sold at Cadiz, one with another for 3300 livres. (about 144*l*.) This is a very considerable produce, which hardly cost the Spaniards any trouble. It should seem as if nature had gratuitously given them what they sell at a high price to other nations. She has bestowed privileges upon them, by granting them at the same time both the productions which yield the most riches, and gold and silver, which are the vehicle or token of all productions.

SUCH is the dominion which these bright and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration, which the pillagers of America justly deserved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi, no longer make us shudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the spirit of justice, and the sentiments of humanity are breathed forth in all our writings and are become the invariable rule of our judg- The mines  
of Mexico.

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judgment; a navigator, who should come into our ports with a vessel laden with riches, notoriously obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidst the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wisdom, which is so much the boast of the present age? What is then that gold, which takes from us the idea of vice, and wipes away the horror of bloodshed? Without doubt there is some advantage annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external representation of all sorts of value, to a common estimate of all labours. But would it not have been better if nations had continued quiet, detached from each other, ignorant, and hospitable, than to be poisoned with the most ferocious of all passions?

THE origin of metals has not always been well understood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed with greater reason, that they are formed successively. In fact, it is not possible to doubt, that nature is not continually employed in action, and that her springs are equally powerful in every part of the globe.

EVERY metal, according to the chymists, has for its principle an earth which constitutes it, and which is peculiar to it. It is exhibited to us, sometimes under the form that characterizes it, and sometimes under various forms, in which only eyes that have been habituated to these researches can recognize it. In the first case it is called *virgin*, in the second mineralized ore.

METALS whether virgin or mineralized, are sometimes scattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been carried thither by great commotions, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually subverting our miserable planet. They are commonly found, sometimes in regular veins, and sometimes

sometimes in detached masses, within the midst of the rocks and mountains where they were formed.

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ACCORDING to the conjectures of naturalists, in these great workhouses which are always kept heated, exhalations are perpetually rising. These sulphureous and saline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate and divide them; and make them lightly circulate within the cavities of the earth. They unite again, and then becoming too heavy to support themselves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their different motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals. The case is otherwise, if they happen to be combined with foreign substances.

NATURE, which seemed as if she wished to conceal them, has not been able to secrete them from the avidity of man. By repeated observations, we are now able to discover the places where mines are found. These are commonly mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and soon fade; where trees are small and crooked; where the moisture of dews, rains, and even snows, is soon dried up; where sulphureous and mineral exhalations arise; where the waters are loaded with vitriolic salts; and where the sands contain metallic particles. Though each of these marks, separately considered, be ambiguous, it seldom happens when all of them are found together, but that the earth contains some mine.

BUT what are the terms, on which we extract this treasure or this poison of human life from that abyss, where nature had secreted it? We must pierce rocks to an immense depth; dig subterraneous channels to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every side; convey into immense galleries forests cut into props; support the vaults of these galleries under the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and bury in their ruins those avaricious and

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presumptuous men who constructed them; we must scoop out canals and aqueducts; invent hydraulic machines of astonishing and various powers, and construct all the several kinds of furnaces; we must be exposed to the danger of being suffocated or consumed by an exhalation which kindles at the dim light of those lamps, that are used to carry on the works; and at last die of a consumption which reduces human life to one half of its duration. If we consider how many observations, experiments, and trials all these labours suppose, we shall carry the origin of the world far beyond its known antiquity. To shew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and silver employed by the first men, is to beguile us with a falsehood which can only impose upon children.

WHEN the labour of mineralogy is finished, that of metallurgy begins. Its object is to separate metals from each other, and to detach them from extraneous bodies which envelope them.

IN order to separate the gold from the stones which contain it, it is sufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized, is afterwards triturated with quicksilver, which combines itself to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or sand, or even the earth which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards distilled, which on separating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the vessel in the state of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Virgin silver also requires no other preparations.

BUT when the silver is combined with other substances, or with metals of a different nature, it requires great knowledge and consummate experience to purify it. Every circumstance authorizes us to think that this art is unknown in the new world. It is also generally acknowledged that the German or Swiss miners would find in a mine that has already been worked, more wealth

wealth than the Spaniard had already extracted out of it. They might enrich themselves by mines, which for want of skill, have been rejected as inadequate to the expences of working them.

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THE art of the Mexicans, whatsoever it might be, was yet infinitely below that of their oppressors. They had consequently less silver than gold. These metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange: they were only objects of ornament, or mere curiosity.

IN the first years subsequent to the conquest, the Spaniards spared themselves the trouble, toil and expences that are inseparable from the working of mines. They wrested from the Mexicans all the metals which they had amassed from the foundation of their empire. The temples, the palaces of the grandees, the houses of private persons, the meanest hovels; all were searched and pillaged. Though the abhorrence the Indians had of their tyrants made them bury a great deal of their wealth in the ground, and throw much more of it into the great lake, and into their rivers, yet avarice found enough to satisfy itself. This source exhausted, recourse was necessarily had to the mines.

THEY dug them at first indifferently every where, but rather preferred the sea coasts. Experience teaching them that those which were nearest the ocean, were least abounding in these treasures, they became disgusted with this plan. At present they work no mine, that is not at a very great distance from the northern sea, where it might be exposed to the incursions, and, perhaps, to the invasions of the Europeans. The metals that are on the gulf of California appear to remain in perfect security, 'till these latitudes become better known and more frequented. The principal mines are in the provinces of Zacatecas, new Biscay, and Mexico, situated



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in the inland parts of the empire, where it is impossible for an enemy to penetrate by land, and to which there are no navigable rivers that lead. These mines may employ forty thousand Indians, under the direction of four thousand Spaniards.

THE mines belong to the person who discovers them. The only form he is obliged to observe is to get his samples approved by the government. As much land is granted to him as he chooses; but he is obliged to give a piaſtre, or five livres five ſous (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) a foot to the proprietor. The third of what he purchaſes, belongs to government; which after long continued and abſurd attempts to have it worked on its own account, reſolves to diſpoſe of it to any one who will be a purchaſer, in preference to the perſon who works the mine. All the mines that are abandoned, become alſo the property of the crown.

It receives 420 livres (18*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) for every hundred weight of mercury that is uſed. In vain have intelligent people repreſented that this exceſſive tax neceſſarily diſcouraged induſtry, but all they have ſaid has been to little purpoſe. All that has been obtained, is, the grant of credit for two years, but not without paying intereſt. It is ſeldom that thoſe who undertake to work mines, are able to go on without theſe indulgencies. Theſe uncertain and hazardous enterprizes are ſcarcely ever undertaken, unleſs by men whoſe affairs are embarraſſed or totally ruined.

MEN of good ſenſe and in eaſy circumſtances, have a more particular averſion for theſe undertakings, from the obligation they are under of delivering to government the fifth part of the ſilver, and the tenth part of the gold which they draw from the earth. The ſtate had a long time objected to this difference of taxation; but has been obliged to conſent to it; becauſe the mines  
of

of gold being more precarious than those of silver, were totally abandoned. Both the one and the other will soon be unable to pay the tribute imposed on them. As gold and silver become more common in trade, the value of them is proportionably diminished, and becomes less adequate to the goods for which they are exchanged. This decreasing value of metals, would have been attended with still greater consequences, if the labours which procure them had not been successively rendered more and more simple. This oeconomy is carried very near as far as it can go; and whenever that happens, the court of Madrid will be under a necessity of lessening the duties, unless it submits to have the best mines neglected, as the indifferent ones have been. Perhaps, it will soon be obliged to content itself with two reals or twenty six sous (1*s.* 1*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .) a mark, which it receives for the duties of stamping and coining.

THE mint of Mexico annually coins about 65 millions of livres; (2,843,750*l.*) the sixth part nearly in gold, the rest in silver. About the half of this passes into Europe, a sixth part into the East Indies, a twelfth into the Spanish islands. The rest passes off insensibly in foreign colonies, or circulates in the empire. There it serves to carry on the inland trade, and to pay the taxes which are considerable.

ALL the males among the Indians from eighteen to fifty, pay a poll tax of 11 livres 16 sous, (about 10*s.*) of which eight ninths must be paid into the treasury, and the rest is destined to various uses. The Mestees who are deemed Indians for the two first generations, and free Mulattoes, are subjected to the same taxation. Those negro slaves are exempted from it, for whom 280 livres (12*l.* 5*s.*) have been paid to the king at their admission into the colony.

Taxes  
established  
in Mexico.

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THE Spaniards whom they have not so far degraded as to impose on them a personal tribute, are subjected to all the other taxes. The most considerable of which, is that of thirty three per cent. on the value of all the goods that are sent to them from Europe, which retains twenty-five of this under divers denominations, and eight of it is paid at their arrival in the new world. This ruinous taxation does not prevent them from being afterwards subjected to the alcavala.

THE alcavala is a duty on every thing that is sold or exchanged, and is paid as often as the sale or exchange takes place. It was established in the metropolis in 1341, and it hath gradually advanced to ten per cent. of the value of merchandize sold in wholesale, and even to fourteen of all that sold by retail. Philip II. after the disaster of his fleet, so well known under the pompous title of the invincible, was determined by his urgent wants to introduce this taxation into Mexico, as in the other colonies. Though it ought to have been only a temporary tax, yet it has continued ever since. It is true, that it has not been augmented, and that it remained at two and a half per cent. as it was at first settled. The crusade has not had the same stability.

THE crusade is a bull which allows great indulgencies, and permits the use of eggs, butter, and cheese, during lent. The government, to whom the court of Rome gave up the benefits accruing from it, had divided the persons who were willing to avail themselves of it into four classes. This indulgence was paid by those who lived by their industry, at the rate of two livres six sous, (about 2s.) Those, who had been able to raise a capital of 10,500 livres, (near 460*l.*) paid 5 livres 5 sous; (about 4*s.*) it cost 10 livres 10 sous, (about 9*s.* 2*d.*) to those who possessed more than 58,600 livres, (about

(about 2560*l.*) and 52 livres 10 sous (about 2*l.* 4*s.*) to the viceroy, and those who were invested with the most honourable dignities. It was left to every man's conscience, by informing him that he would obtain nothing, if he did not proportion his contribution to his fortune. Mexico alone then paid about 2,600,000 livres, (near 114,000*l.*) It is probable that this superstition decreased, since the ministry in 1556 fixed this bull, for all conditions, at 40 sous, (1*s.* 9*d.*) Government obliges nobody to take it; but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should not have purchased it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently enlightened, or bold enough to set himself above this imposition.

ONE species of oppression, which has not been so patiently submitted to, is the duty which they have of late put on salt and tobacco. The people, who suffered their former calamities without murmuring, were highly disgusted with these innovations. One of them appeared so repugnant to natural right, and the other so strongly contradicted one of their most agreeable enjoyments, that though they had been for a long time accustomed to the yoke, there was an insurrection among them. The atrocious conduct of the farmers of the revenues, greatly added to the general discontent. It discovered itself from one end of the empire to the other, and has been heard of even in Europe. Some mild dispositions have palliated the evil; but they are still in a degree of ferment, that the metropolis will not easily appease without some sacrifice. One of the most agreeable to its colonies would be that of stamped paper.

INDEPENDENTLY of the regular tributes which Spain exacts of her colonies, she raises in times of distress, under the denomination of loan, considerable sums, of

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which she hath never paid either the interest or the capital. This vexation, which began in the time of Philip II. hath been continued to our days. It was more frequently repeated under Philip V, than in the course of the other reigns, which contributed not a little to render the French name odious in these countries. This Contribution, which was levied on all who possessed any fortune, was urged with more eagerness at Mexico than in other places; because the Europeans, Creoles, Mestees, Mulattoes, and especially the Indians, were there in more affluent circumstances. The public prosperity has been greatly diminished in this country by the revenue laws, and is every day still more so by the rapaciousness of the clergy.

THE clergy rigorously collect the tenth of every produce. The functions of their profession are paid them at an extravagant price. Their lands are immense, and every day they acquire a greater extent of territory. They are thought to be in possession of a fourth of the revenues of the empire. The bishop of Angelos alone, has an income of 1,260,000 livres, (above 55,100*l.*) These scandalous riches have multiplied ecclesiastics to such a degree, that they now constitute the fifth part of the whole population of the white people. Some of them were born in the colony; but the greatest part are adventurers come from Europe, in order to screen themselves from the authority of their superiors, or to make their fortune expeditiously.

THE revenue of the crown is not what it ought to be. The duties fixed on goods which are imported here from Cadiz, and on the ores, the quicksilver, the poll tax, the imposts, the royal domain, are such great objects, that we cannot help being greatly surprised, when we see that the sovereign annually draws from Mexico,  
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though the best conducted of his possessions, no more than about 6,300,000 livres. (276,000*l.*) The rest, that is to say, almost the whole, is absorbed by the civil and military government of the country, which are both in the utmost disorder.

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THE finances are swallowed up by the vast number of clerks that are stationed every where; by corregidores who administer justice in the provinces; by the commandants of places; by three superior councils of justice known by the name of Audience; by those who are invested with full authority, or by subalterns who gain the confidence of the people in place. A part of this pillage finds its way into Europe, another part contributes to feed the pride, laziness, luxury, and profligacy of a small number of Mexican towns, but principally of Mexico itself.

THE Mexicans who for a time might have been at a loss to determine whether the Spaniards were a swarm of robbers or a conquering people, saw their capital almost totally destroyed by those cruel wars, of which it was the theatre. Cortez was not long before he rebuilt it; and it has since been extended and embellished.

ITS streets are broad, straight, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are pretty spacious, but without conveniences or decorations. Not one of the public edifices that are shewn with the greatest ostentation to travellers, recalls to the remembrance the finer days of architecture, nor even the good gothic times. The principal squares have a fountain in the center, and are pretty regular; but this is all their merit. There is a walk with a jet d'eau, where eight alleys meet, whose trees have a form and foliage not very agreeable to the eye. Superstition has amassed treasures from all the quarters of the globe in innumerable churches, without there being a single one that raises the soul to any sublime

BOOK II. sublime ideas, or that can fill the heart with pleasing sentiments.

THE air of this city is very temperate, so that woollen clothing may be worn all the year. The least precautions are sufficient to prevent any inconveniencies from the heat. Charles the fifth asked a Spaniard on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between summer and winter; *just as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to pass out of sunshine into shade*.

THE city is built in the centre of a great lake, which is bisected by a very narrow isthmus. That part of the lake, whose water is soft, calm, and full of fish, falls into the other which is salt, generally agitated, and without fish. The circumference of this whole lake, which is unequal in its extent, is about thirty leagues.

PEOPLE are not agreed with regard to the origin of these waters. The most common and probable opinion makes them issue from a large and lofty mountain situated to the south-west of Mexico, with this difference, that the salt water runs under a track of land that is full of mines, which communicate this quality to it.

BEFORE the conquest, Mexico and many other towns situated on the margin of the lake, were exposed to inundations, which rendered them dangerous to live in. Dikes constructed with incredible expence and labour, were not always sufficient to divert the torrents which poured down from the mountains. The Spaniards have also experienced these calamities. Most of their buildings, though constructed with care, and supported on piles, after a few years, sink four, five, or six feet, in a soil that is not firm enough to support them.

THESE inconveniencies gave rise to the project of draining off the waters. Accounts that were prodigiously exaggerated, assure us that in 1604, four hundred seventy-one thousand one hundred and fifty-four Indians

Indians were employed in digging this canal. In order to find a fund necessary for defraying the expence of it, one hundredth part of the price of houses, lands, and merchandise was exacted; a taxation unknown in the new world. Ignorance, discouragements, and particular interests made this noble and wise undertaking miscarry.

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THE viceroy Ladeyrera, in 1635, thought that it would be of advantage, that it was even indispensably necessary to build Mexico in another place. Avarice, incapable of making any sacrifice; pleasure, ever afraid of interrupting its enjoyments; idleness, which dreads trouble; all the passions united themselves to thwart an idea, which in itself was liable to some objections.

THE new efforts that have since been made to render living in this country as safe as it is agreeable, have not proved altogether successful: whether this may be owing to their not having been properly exerted, or that nature has thrown insurmountable obstacles in the way, Mexico remains still exposed to the fury of the waters; and the dread of inundations has greatly diminished its population. The majority of historians assure us, that it formerly contained more than two hundred thousand souls; at present it has not above fifty thousand. This number is composed of Spaniards, Mestees, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, of such a diversity of heterogeneous races from the white to the black, that among an hundred faces one will hardly find two of the same colour.

BEFORE this emigration, riches had accumulated in Mexico to an incredible degree. What in other countries is made of iron and copper, was here made of silver or gold. These splendid metals, as well as pearls and precious stones, were employed to adorn their horses and servants, the most common utensils, and used for the meanest purposes. The manners of the country, which are always conformable to the luxury that prevails, corresponded



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responded with this stile of romantic magnificence. The women, in their palaces, were waited upon by thousands of slaves, and never appeared in public but with a retinue, which amongst us, is reserved for the majesty of a throne. To these extravagancies the men added profusions still greater for negro women, whom they publicly raised to the rank of their mistresses. This luxury which was so excessive in the ordinary actions of life, exceeded all bounds on occasion of the slightest festivals. The general pride then exerted itself, and each man lavished millions to acquire the superiority for his own particular taste. The crimes necessary to support this extravagance, were previously atoned for; as superstition had pronounced every man holy and just who should contribute liberally to churches.

THE treasures, and the pomp naturally attendant upon them, must necessarily have diminished at Mexico, in proportion as those who possessed them sought an asylum at Angelos and other towns. The advantage, however, which this capital enjoys of being the center of the dominion, the seat of government, the place where the coin is struck, the residence of the greatest proprietors of lands and of the richest traders, has always occasioned the greatest part of the principal affairs of the empire to be transacted here.

Connections of Mexico with the rest of America, with the East Indies and with Europe.

THE trade Mexico carries on with the other parts of America is much confined. By the north sea it receives from Maracaybo and Caracos cocoa greatly superior to its own, and negroes by the way of the Havannah and Carthagena: it gives in exchange meal and silver.

ITS connections with the south sea are of greater utility to it, without being much more considerable. Originally Peru was allowed to send annually to New Spain two vessels, whose cargoes together were not to exceed one million ten thousand livres. (above 44,000*l.*) This was some time afterwards reduced to half. It was totally

tally suppressed in 1636, on pretence that it prejudiced the trade of the metropolis, by the quantity of East India goods it imported into the country. The merchants of Lima complained a long time, but ineffectually, of a barbarous law that deprived them of the double advantage of selling the superfluities of their commodities, and of receiving those they wanted. The communication between the two colonies was at last re-established, but with restrictions which prove that the government had not acquired any considerable information, and that it only yielded to importunity. Since this period, the vessels sent out from Callao and Guayaquil, carry cocoa, wines, and brandies to Acapulco and Sonsonate on the coast of Guatemala, and bring back pitch, tar, arnotto, indigo, cochineal, iron and haberdashery wares of Angelos, and as many contraband goods as possible from the Philippine islands, so celebrated in Europe from the connections which they have with Mexico. The importance of this communication seems to require that we should trace its origin.

WHEN the court of Madrid, whose ambition increased with their prosperity, had formed the plan of a great establishment in Asia, their attention was seriously engaged in considering of expedients to insure its success. This project must necessarily be exposed to great difficulties. The riches of America so powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who consented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear possible to engage them to go and settle at the Philippines, unless it was agreed to give them a share in these treasures. This sacrifice was resolved upon. The rising colony was authorized to send every year into America, India goods in exchange for metals.

THIS unbounded liberty was attended with such consequences, that it excited the jealousy of the metropolis. Things were a little quieted by restraining to 3,150,000 livres (near 138,000*l.*) the trade allowed to be carried  
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on. This sum was divided in twelve thousand equal shares. Every head of a family was to have one, and persons in place a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were comprehended in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility. Two hundred of these shares were allowed to the Jesuits, whose employments and enterprizes seemed to require greater means.

THE vessels which departed at first from the island of Cebu, and afterwards from the island of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. They discovered trade-winds which opened a much shorter passage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was transacted on its coast, where it was established.

EVERY year, in the middle of July, they send out from the port of Mapilla, a galleon, which is commonly from eighteen hundred to two thousand tons. After getting clear of a multitude of islands and rocks which delayed its course, it steers east-north-east, in order to meet with the west winds in thirty degrees latitude, which bring them in a straight course to the end of their voyage. This vessel, which is very heavy laden, is six months on her passage, because the sailors who are on board, from their extreme timidity never hoist the main sail in the night time, and often lower all their sails without the least occasion. At last the ship arrives at Mexico.

THE coasts of this great empire are not like those of Peru, where the vicinity and heights of the Cordeleras afford a perpetual spring, and cause regular and mild winds to blow. As soon as the ship has passed the latitude of Panama the free communication of the atmosphere, east by west, not being any longer interrupted by this prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. In reality, navigation in these latitudes is  
safe

safe and easy from the middle of October to the beginning of May; but during the rest of the year, the violences of the west wind, the dreadful storms, the excessive rains, the suffocating heats, the total calms; all these obstacles, which are combined or succeed each other, render the sea troublesome and even dangerous. Throughout this whole extent of coast, which is more than six hundred leagues, there is not a single bark to be seen, nor even the least canoe, either for trade or fishing. Even the ports, which are scattered up and down here, are open, defenceless, and exposed to the insults of the first pirate that may be inclined to attack them. The port of Acapulco, where the galleons arrive, is the only one that has attracted the attention of government.

SHIPS arrive there by two inlets, separated from each other by a small island: the entrance into them in the day, is by means of a sea breeze, as the sailing out in the night time is effected by a land breeze. A wretched fort, forty-two pieces of cannon, and a garrison of sixty men, defend it. It is equally extensive, safe, and commodious. The basin which constitutes this harbour, is surrounded by lofty mountains, which are so dry that they are even destitute of water. The air here is hot, heavy, and unwholesome, to which none can habituate themselves, except certain negroes that are born under a similar climate, or some mulattoes. This feeble and miserable colony is crowded with a vast accession to its numbers upon the arrival of the galleons; traders flocking here from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange European toys, their own cochineal, and about ten millions (437,500*l.*) of silver for spices, muslins, printed linens, silks, perfumes, and the gold works of Asia. After continuing about three months, the vessel takes again the route of the Philippines before the first  
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of April, with one or two companies of infantry that are appointed to relieve the garrison of Manilla. Part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony, the rest is distributed among the nations which had contributed to form its cargo.

THE immense space, which the galleons have to traverse, has made it necessary to look out for places where they might take in refreshments. The first that has been met with of this kind, is on the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, in those islands known at first by the name of the Ladrones, and since by the name of Marianne islands. They were discovered by Magellan in 1521. They were at first neglected; the galleons afterwards used to put in there for refreshment; but there was no regular settlement made here till the year 1678.

THESE islands are situated at the extremity of the south sea, near four hundred leagues to the east of the Philippines. Their position in the torrid zone prevents not the climate from being moderately temperate. The air is pure, the sky serene, and the soil fruitful. Before their intercourse with the Europeans, the inhabitants, who were always naked, lived only on fruits, roots, and fish. As fishing was their usual and sole occupation, they had constructed canoes, more perfect than any that have ever been found in the rest of the world.

THE people, who are very numerous, and are diffused in twelve islands, that are the only inhabited ones in this archipelago, have gradually diminished since the invasion of the Spaniards, either by contagious disorders, or by the bad usage which they have experienced. The remainder, to the number of two thousand seven hundred persons, have collected themselves in the center of the island of Guam, which may have from twenty-five to thirty leagues circumference. It is garrisoned by a  
hundred

hundred men, who are appointed to defend two small forts that are situated on two roads, one of which receives a small vessel, which every two years arrives here from the Philippines, and the other is destined to furnish refreshments to the galleon. This last fort is so wretched, that the vessel never stays here more than two days, and in that short time it is often exposed to very great dangers. It is very extraordinary that Spain has not sought for a better harbour, or very singular that no one has been found in such a multitude of islands. California presents an asylum more secure to the galleons that come from the Philippines to Acapulco.

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land which stretches from the northern coasts of America, and runs along between east and south as far as the torrid zone: it is washed on each side by the pacific ocean. The part that is known of this peninsula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

It is impossible that in so vast an extent, the nature of the soil, and the temperature of the air should be every where the same. It may be said, however, that in general the climate here is dry and excessively hot; the ground bare, stony, mountainous, sandy, and consequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and breeding cattle. Amidst the small number of trees that are found here, the most useful is the pitahaya, the produce of which constitutes the principal food of the Californians. Its branches which are fluted and perpendicular, have no leaves, and it is from the stems that the fruit grows. It is prickly like the Indian chesnut; but its pulp resembles that of the fig, with this advantage, that it is much sweeter and more delicate.

THE sea, which is richer than the land, swarms with fish of every kind in the greatest abundance, and of the most exquisite taste. But what renders the gulf of California of more importance, is the pearls,

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which in the fishing season, draw together the inhabitants of the provinces of New Spain.

THE Californians are well made and very stout. An extreme pusillanimity, inconstancy, indolence, stupidity, and even insensibility, form their character. They are children in whom the powers of reason are not yet unfolded. They are swarthier than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilized life of society, subverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, since we find under the temperate zone a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

BEFORE the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and their government was such as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an assemblage of several cottages, more or less numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were strangers even to filial obedience. The men were acquainted with no species of dress, but the women covered those parts nature intended should be concealed with extreme care.

WHETHER these particulars were known or not, certain it is that Mexico was no sooner reduced and tranquillity established, than the plan was laid for the conquest of California. Cortez landed there in 1526. He had not even time to take a survey of it, because he was obliged to return to his government, where the report of his death had disposed the minds of the people to a general insurrection. The several attempts that have since been made to form an establishment there, have all been unsuccessful. The endeavours of the court were not more fortunate than those of individuals. If we pay the least attention to the spirit that directed these enterprizes, we shall find that want of humanity, courage, and perseverance was the cause of these misfortunes.

tunes. There was not a single expedition that was not ill concerted or imprudently conducted. BOOK  
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SPAIN dispirited with her losses and expences, had entirely abandoned the acquisition of California, when the Jesuits in 1697 solicited permission to undertake it. As soon as they had obtained the consent of government they began to execute a plan of legislation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the soil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. They were not guided by fanaticism. They arrived among the savages they purposed to civilize with curiosities that might amuse them, grain proper to be their food, and apparel fit to please them. The hatred these people bore to the Spanish name, could not support itself against these demonstrations of benevolence. They testified their acknowledgments, as much as want of sensibility and their inconstancy were capable of. These vices were in part subdued by the religious instructors, who prosecuted their project with a warmth and resolution peculiar to their body. They made themselves carpenters, masons, weavers, and husbandmen, and by these means succeeded in imparting knowledge, and in some measure a taste for the first arts of necessity to this savage people; who have been all successively formed into one body. In 1745, they consisted of forty-three villages, that were separated by the barrenness of the soil and the want of water. This republic will augment, in proportion as the successors of those who formed it, shall prosecute their labours northwards, where, according to a plan that was judiciously concerted, a communication was to be established between the missionaries of the peninsula, and those of the continent. They are only separated from each other by the river Colorado.

THESE small boroughs principally subsist on corn and pulse which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domestic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is



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an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property of what they reap; but such is their want of foresight, that they would squander in a day what they had gathered, if the missionary did not take upon himself to distribute it to them as they want it. They already make some coarse stuffs. The necessaries they stand in need of, are purchased with pearls, which they fish in the gulf, and with wine that nearly resembles that of Madeira, which they sell to New Spain and to the galleons, and experience hath shewn it is highly important that the use of this liquor should be prohibited them.

TWELVE laws, that are very simple, suffice to regulate this rising state. In order to enforce the observance of them, the missionary chuses the most intelligent person of the village; who is empowered to whip and imprison, the only punishments of which they have any knowledge.

IN all California there are only two garrisons, each consisting of thirty men, and a soldier with every missionary. These troops were selected by the legislators, and are under their orders, though they are paid by the government. The court of Madrid saw no inconvenience in leaving these trifling forces in the hands of those who had acquired their confidence; and they demonstrated to them that nothing but this expedient would have prevented the oppression of their new subjects.

THEY will continue happy just as long as no mines are discovered in their territory. If there are any mines, as the great number on the other side of the gulf is a strong presumption, no sooner will they be found out, but the edifice that has been reared with such trouble and good sense, will be at once subverted. These people, like so many others, will disappear from the surface of the earth. The gold, which the Spanish government would draw from California, would deprive it of the advantages which its policy may now find in  
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the labours of its missionaries; who should rather be encouraged to pursue their useful undertakings. These, perhaps, might enable the court of Madrid to build forts, which would put them in a condition of beholding with tranquillity the discovery of that passage which the English have long sought for, the north-west passage to the pacific ocean. It has also been imagined that these ramparts might prove a barrier against the Russians, who in 1741 penetrated within twelve degrees of Cape Mendocino, the most northern position that has hitherto been known of California. But if they had observed that this voyage could not be undertaken but from the seas of Kamtschatka, they would have been sensible that nothing could be fitted out there, but weak armaments merely to gratify curiosity, and which consequently could not occasion the least disquietude.

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AN advantage more certain, and less remote, is the facility which California gives of reducing the provinces which extend from the other side of the gulf to the river Colorado. These rich countries are at such a distance from Mexico, and so difficult of access, that it appeared as dangerous to attempt the conquest of them, as useless to execute it. The liberty, the safety of the sea of California, ought to encourage the undertaking, furnish the means of succeeding in it, and insure the advantages accruing from it. Philosophers themselves will invite the court of Madrid to these expeditions, as soon as they shall have seen them solemnly abjure those fanatical and destructive principles which have hitherto constituted the basis of their policy.

IN the mean time, till Spain shall adopt these great speculations, California serves for a place for ships that sail from the Philippines to Mexico to put in at. Cape St. Lucar, situated at the southern extremity of the peninsula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreshments, and signals which give

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them information if any enemy appears in these latitudes that are very dangerous, and where they have been the most frequently attacked. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived here for the first time. Its orders and its necessities have always since that time brought it hither.

THE system adopted by all the governments of Europe to hold colonies in the most absolute dependence on the metropolis, has always made the connections of Mexico with Asia, suspicious to several of the Spanish politicians. The opinion which has prevailed, and is still maintained, that it is not possible to preserve the Philippines, without this communication, has alone prevented them from having it broken. All their efforts have only been able to limit it, by hindering Peru from having any share in it. This vast empire has by severe and repeated laws been deprived of the advantage of drawing directly from the east, that merchandise of which it stood in need, and of the liberty even of indirectly deriving it from New Spain.

THESE shackles were disapproved by the bold and fertile genius of Alberoni. Full of the most extensive views for the prosperity and glory of that monarchy which he attempted to restore, he purposed to retain in it the treasures of the new world, to which it had hitherto served only as a mart. According to his plan the east was to furnish all the articles of dress to the Spanish colonies and to the metropolis itself, which it would have received through the channel of its colonies. He justly expected that those powers, whose interests this arrangement would prejudice, and whose industry it would ruin, would strive to obstruct it; but he studied to brave their fury in the European seas, and he had already given orders for putting the coasts and harbours of the South Sea in a condition of not being intimidated

intimidated by any distressed and worn out squadrons that might happen to attack them.

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THESE views were defective in precision. Alberoni transported by the enthusiasm of his opinions, and by his hatred against those nations that purposed to embarrass his measures, did not perceive, that the silks and linens that should be imported into Spain in the way he proposed, would bear such an excessive price, as would necessarily prevent the consumption of them. The project of cloathing the people of North and South America from Asia, appears to be a very sensible one.

THE colonists would be clothed more agreeably, cheaper, and in a manner better adapted to the climate: The wars of Europe would not expose them to the want of things that are indispensably necessary: They would become more wealthy, would be better affected to their mother country, and better enabled to defend themselves against the enemies it might draw upon them: These enemies themselves would prove less formidable, because they would gradually lose the strength which the furnishing of Peru and Mexico with provisions procures them. In a word, Spain by receiving on India goods the same duties as it receives on those with which its rivals furnish it, would lose no branch of its revenues. It might even, if occasion required, obtain from its colonies succours, which at present they have neither the disposition nor the power of granting. We shall insist no longer on the commerce of Mexico with the East Indies; let us now speak of its connections with Europe by the north sea, and begin with that which the productions of Guatimala form.

THE province of Guatimala, which is one of the largest of New Spain, was conquered in 1524, and 1525, by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortéz's lieutenants. He built in it several towns, and in particular the capital,

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tal, which bears the name of the province. It is situated in a valley that is about three miles broad, and bounded by two mountains that are pretty lofty. From the mountain towards the south run several rivulets and fountains, which yield to the villages, that are situated on the declivity, a delicious freshness, and maintain a perpetual succession of flowers and fruits. The aspect of the mountain, that is to the north, is horrid. There is no verdure ever seen upon it: nothing but ashes, and calcined stones. A kind of noise, which the inhabitants ascribe to the boiling of metals that are in a state of fusion within the caverns of the earth, is heard continually. From these interior furnaces issue flames, and torrents of sulphur, which fill the air with an horrible infection. Guatimala, according to the expression of the country, is situated between paradise and hell.

Its situation, and its distance from Mexico and Guadalajara, have occasioned it to be fixed upon for the seat of an audience, which extends its jurisdiction over three hundred leagues to the south, an hundred to the north, sixty to the east, and twelve to the west, towards the South Sea. The advantages it derived from this distinction soon formed it into a considerable colony, and this colony made the most of those gifts which nature had bestowed upon it. There is no country in this part of the new world, where she hath lavished her blessings with greater profusion. The air here is very wholesome, and the climate very temperate. Poultry and game are in the greatest abundance, and of an excellent flavour. No part of the earth produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and sea, are every where replete with excellent fish. The oxen are here multiplied to such a degree, that it is become necessary to kill all that are grown wild on the mountains, lest they should prejudice agriculture by their excessive numbers.

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THIS fertility, however, is not the circumstance that renders Guatemala so valuable to the metropolis. Spain has properly no connection with this colony but by means of the indigo she derives from it. This is far superior to what the rest of America produces. In the cultivation of it they employ certain negroes, and a part of those Indians who have survived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of these slaves annually furnish, to Europe alone, two thousand five hundred furrors, which sell one another at Cadiz for 1680 livres (73*l.* 10*s.*). This rich production is conveyed upon mules, with some other articles of lesser consequence, to the town of St. Thomas, situated sixty leagues from Guatemala, at the extremity of a very deep lake which loses itself in the gulf of Honduras. Here these goods always remain to be exchanged, for those that are sent from Europe in vessels of a moderate bulk, which commonly arrive in the months of July or August. Their cargo in return consists of some skins, some cassia, and some sarsaparilla, which is all the trade that the province of Honduras furnishes, though it be an hundred and fifty leagues long, and sixty or fourscore broad. The reputation it had first acquired, from its golden mines, was but transitory: they sank into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of nearly a million of Indians. The territory they inhabited remains uncultivated and waste: it is now the poorest part of all America. Both the people and the lands were sacrificed to the search after gold, and even that gold came to nothing.

GUATIMALA nearly furnishes the whole of those 6,000,000 livres, (262,500*l.*) which is the amount of its productions joined to those of Honduras. The lake on which these riches are all accumulated, is entirely open, though it would have been very easy to have secured

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ed it from every attack ; so much the more easily as its entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each side within cannon shot. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till she has suffered for her negligence ; which might be easily effected.

THE vessels that should undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect safety in the road. A thousand or twelve hundred men landing at St. Thomas, might cross fifteen leagues of the mountains, where they would find commodious roads and subsistence. The rest of the way would be across plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would arrive at Guatimala, which has not a single soldier, nor the least fortification. Its forty thousand souls, Indians, Negroes, Mestees, and Spaniards, who have never seen a sword, would be incapable of the least resistance. In order to save their lives, they would deliver up to the enemy the immense riches that they have been accumulating for two centuries, which would amount at least to thirty millions. (1,312,500*l.*) The troops would re-imbark with this booty, and if they chose it with hostages, that would insure their retreat. The trade of Campeachy would be exposed to the same invasion, if it were worth it.

BETWEEN the gulph of Campeachy and Honduras we find a great peninsula, called Yucatan. Though this peninsula has neither river nor brook, the water is every where so near to the land, and shells are in such vast abundance, that it is manifest that this immense space formerly constituted part of the sea. When the Spaniards discovered it, they found few inhabitants there, little cultivation, and no metals, in consequence of which it was despised. They afterwards found that the trees which grew there were fit for dying, upon which

which they built the town of Campeachy, which became the mart of this valuable production, that gave it its name. BOOK  
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If this tree were not so thick, it would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are small and of a pale green. The inside, at first red, becomes black after the tree has been felled some time. It is only the heart of this tree that gives the black and the violet colour.

CAMPEACHY was indebted to the single traffic of this article, for the advantage it possessed of being a very considerable market. It received every year several vessels, whose cargoes were distributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood and metals which this circulation drew thither. This prosperity was continually augmenting 'till the time that the English settled at Jamaica.

AMIDST the vast numbers of those pirates which every day issued from this island, that was become famous, several were to cruise in the bay of Campeachy, to intercept the vessels which sailed there. These robbers knew so little of the value of the wood, which was the only production of the country, that when they found barks laden with it, they took away nothing but the iron utensils. One of them having carried off a large vessel which had nothing else but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, designing only to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he sold at a very great price the wood of which he made so little account, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. From this discovery, the pirates, who were not successful at sea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they put on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the shore.

THE peace of the English with Spain, having put a stop to the depredations of these pirates, several of them employed



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employed themselves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furnished them at first with abundance. As soon as they perceived it diminish, they went to settle between Tabasco and the river of Champeton, about lake Triste, and in Beef island which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and sixty. Their ardour, which at first was extreme, soon relaxed. The habit of idleness prevailed. As the greatest part of them were excellent shooters, the chase became their predominant passion; and their former inclination to plunder was rekindled in them by this exercise. They soon began to make invasions into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women they appointed to wait on them, and the men they sold at Jamaica or other islands. The Spaniard was roused from his lethargy by these enormities, surprised them in the midst of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Most of them were even taken in their cottages, they were led prisoners to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

THOSE who escaped, took refuge in the gulf of Honduras, where they were joined by some wandering freebooters of North America. In process of time they increased to fifteen hundred men. The free independence, and plentiful manner in which they lived, rendered the marshy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments secured their lives and their provisions; and they confined themselves to employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country to cut wood without being well armed.

THEIR industry was crowned with the greatest success. In reality, the tun of wood which had been sold as high as nine hundred livres, (39*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) was gradually

ally fallen to a very low price, but what was lost in the price, was compensated by the greater quantity that was sold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, strong liquors, linens, cloaths, or to the English colonies of North America, which supplied them with the provisions. This commerce, which was always carried on by smugglers, and which was the object of so much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting wood was secured to Great Britain, but she was not permitted to raise forts, and was even obliged to destroy those which had been built. The court of Madrid seldom hath made any concessions with greater regret than this of establishing in the center of its possessions, an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. But there is a method to render even this concession almost useless.

THE province of Jucatan is divided from north-east to south-west, that is, throughout almost its whole extent, by a chain of mountains. To the north of these mountains is the bay of Campeachy, whose dry and thirsty soil produces a wood of a singular quality, which is sold at all markets at near double the price of that which the English cut at the southern bay of Honduras, where the rich and almost marshy soil produces only a bastard kind, and which yields much less dye. If, as the expressions of the treaty, which admit of some latitude in their meaning, lead us to apprehend, Great Britain hath acquired only the right of settling in those places which its subjects had usurped, Spain may put an end to her uneasiness on this point, by encouraging the cutting of its own wood which is more valuable, in such a manner as to furnish all Europe with enough for their consumption. By this judicious policy, she will ruin the English colony, and without force get rid of a neighbour much more dangerous than she imagines;

gines; she will then regain an important branch of trade, which for a long time hath been so considerably reduced, that Campeachy receives from the mother country no more than a single vessel every three or four years. What this does not bring away is carried off by small vessels to Vera-Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

OLD Vera-Cruz served at first for a mart. This town, built and founded by Cortez, on the very spot where he landed, is situated on a river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy season is capable of receiving the largest vessels. The danger to which they were exposed in a situation where nothing defended them against the violence of the winds so common in these latitudes, induced the seamen to seek for more secure shelter; which they found eighteen miles lower down on the same coast. There they built new Vera Cruz seventy two leagues distance from the capital of Mexico.

NEW Vera-Cruz is situated in a climate rendered disagreeable by a burning sun and by the excessive heats, or unwholesome by the continual rains. Dry sands bound it on the north, and infectious marshes on the west. Its streets are straight, but the houses are built of wood. No nobility are to be met with here, and the merchants always prefer living at Angelos. The small number of Spaniards, who are fixed here either by avarice or by indigence in so wretched and dangerous a place, live in a privacy and with a parsimony that are unknown in all other commercial places.

THE fortifications of the town consist of a wall, eight towers erected at certain distances, and two bastions which command the shore. These works, weak in themselves and ill constructed, are in an extremely ruinous state; so that for the defence of the place they depend only on the fortrefs of St. Juan de Ulloa, that is  
built

built on a rock, fronting the town, and at the distance **B O O K**  
of a mile from it. **II.**

**T**HIS harbour has the disadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five vessels, which are not always sheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two canals only, which are so narrow, as to admit but one ship. The approaches also are rendered dangerous by several small islands, which the Spaniards call Cayos, and by a great number of rocks between wind and water, almost imperceptible. These obstacles which they deemed insurmountable, except by a perfect knowledge of the spot acquired after many years experience, having been overcome by certain desperate pirates, who surprised the place in 1712, towers were constructed on the shore, where vigilant sentinels continually keep guard for the common safety.

**I**T is into this wretched harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the gulf, that the fleet arrives, whose destination is to furnish Mexico with European merchandize. It is fitted out at Cadiz every two, three, or four years, according as occasions and circumstances require. It ordinarily consists of fifteen or twenty merchant ships, and is escorted by two men of war, or a greater number, if requisite.

**W**INES, brandies, and oils, constitute the most bulky part of the cargo. Gold and silver stuffs, gold and silver lace, cloths, linen, silks, laces, hats, jewels, diamonds, and spices compose the richest part.

**T**HE fleet sets out from Europe in the month of July, but at the latest in the beginning of August, in order to avoid the dangers which it would incur from the violence of the north wind in the open sea, especially at the landing places, if it set sail in any other season. In its passage it takes in refreshments at Porto Rico, and repairs to Vera Cruz, from whence its cargo

is

**B O O K** is carried to Xalapa. In this town, which is situated  
 II. twelve leagues from the harbour on the back of a  
 mountain, and commodiously built, is held a fair, which is limited by the laws to six weeks, but which sometimes is prolonged at the solicitation of the merchants of the country or those of Spain. The proportion of metals to merchandise is what determines the gain or loss of exchanges. If one of these objects is in greater abundance than the other, great prejudice results to the seller or buyer. Formerly the royal treasure was sent from the capital to Vera-Cruz, to wait the arrival of the fleet there; but since this key of the new world was pillaged by pirates in 1683, it waits the arrival of the ships and stops at Angelos, which is only thirty-five leagues distant.

WHEN the business is finished, the gold, silver, cochineal, leather, vanilla, logwood, and some goods of inconsiderable value which Mexico furnishes, are put on board. The fleet then directs its course for the Havana, where after being joined by some register ships dispatched to different ports, it arrives at Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

IN the interval between the one fleet and the other, the court of Spain sends out two men of war which they call Azogues, to carry to Vera-Cruz the quicksilver that is necessary for working the mines of Mexico. The quicksilver was originally drawn from Peru; but the commissions were so uncertain, so slow, and so frequently attended with fraud, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to send it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at first furnished them with the means. These were afterwards forsaken for the richer mines of Almeda in Estramadura. The Azogues, to which they sometimes join two or three merchant ships, which can only carry the fruits of Spain, are laden in return with the produce of those goods that have been sold  
 since

since the departure of the fleet, or of those which had been delivered on credit.

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If any arrears still remain, they are commonly brought back by the ships of war which Spain builds at the Havanna, and which always pass to Vera-Cruz, before they set sail for Europe. Affairs are conducted in a different manner at Peru, as will be shewn in the subsequent book.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

## B O O K III.

*Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire since that change of government.*

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Expeditions that preceded the discovery of Peru.

COLUMBUS was no sooner firmly established in the island of San Domingo than he prosecuted his discoveries. In one of his voyages he discovered the Oronoko, and in the other the bay of Honduras. He clearly saw that what he had found was a continent, and his genius led him further than merely to suspect that beyond this continent was another ocean, which must terminate at the East Indies. It was possible that these two seas might have a mutual communication, and he studiously employed himself to find it out. In order to make this discovery, he sailed along the coast as near as he could. He touched at all places which were accessible; and contrary to the custom of the navigators of his time, who behaved in the countries where they arrived in such a manner as if they were never to revisit them, he treated the inhabitants with equity, attention, and humanity, which procured him their affection. The isthmus of Darien particularly engaged his observation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were an arm of the great ocean, which united by a narrow strait, the seas of South and North America, and therefore seemed to open to his wishes the passage and communication he was in search of. After he had explored these rivers with extreme attention,

tion, and found himself disappointed in his expectations, he contented himself with founding a colony. The pride, mercenary disposition, and imprudence of his companions, inspired the natives of the country with the utmost hatred, who at first appeared tolerably well disposed to permit this establishment. They were obliged to reembark and sail away in vessels which were not in a condition to keep the sea any longer.

THE intelligence however which was obtained was not entirely lost. Vespucius, Ojeda, Lacosa, Pinçon, Roldan, Nino, Lopez, Bastidos, Solis, and Nicuesa, followed the path which Columbus had traced out for them. These adventurers, who had only received from government a permission to make discoveries, in order to satisfy the vain glory of the nation rather than to extend its dominions, thought neither of establishing colonies which they might cultivate, nor forming commercial connections with the petty nations which they discovered. The prospect of remote fortunes which might have been made by these prudent measures, was too much above the prejudices of these barbarous times. Even the reasoning which might have led them to the knowledge of these advantages, would not have imparted a sufficient impulse to animate them. Nothing but the allurements of immediate gain could stimulate men to enterprises so hazardous as were those for which this age was distinguished. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diseases and death, which they were exposed to in the course of their voyage, at their arrival, or their return; and by a terrible but just vengeance, the European barbarity and lust of gold, exhausted at once the two hemispheres of their inhabitants, and destruction raged equally among those who were the plunderers and assassins, as among the plundered people.



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AMONG the number of villains who ravaged, depopulated, and destroyed these unhappy coasts of a world which was no sooner discovered than it was exterminated, there was one man who had naturally an agreeable aspect, a robust constitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence, and who had imbibed some good principles from a liberal education. His name was Vasco Nugnes de Balboa. Finding at Darien, where there was greater plenty of riches than in other places, a small number of Spaniards, whom this circumstance alone had attracted there, he put himself at their head, with the design of forming a permanent settlement. He found at first in the country some of that same species of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Asiatic islands. They are covered with a down of a glistening white colour. They have no hair; and their eyes are red. They only see well in the night time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumscribed than those of other men. These savages were few in number; but others of a different species were found on the coast. These were brave and hardy enough to defend their liberty. They had a very extraordinary custom among them, which was that the husbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, used to cut off the end of a finger; so that by looking on their hands one might see whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been so.

NOTHING has ever been or will probably ever be said, that can satisfactorily explain the various perversions of human reason. If the women alone had been obliged to cut off a finger at the decease of their husbands, it would be natural to suspect that they had purposed hereby to prevent a widow from fraudulently palming herself for a virgin on a second husband who might have had no knowledge of her former connection,

on, a thing very feasible among wandering nations. But this conjecture would be groundless, when applied to the case of husbands, whose condition could never be attended with such great inconveniences, as that they should have studied to indicate it by indelible signs. This custom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

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WHEN a widow died, they interred in the same grave such of her children, whose tender age rendered it impossible for them to provide for their own subsistence. As nobody would take the charge of these orphans, they butchered them to prevent their being starved to death. The charity of these barbarians extended no further. This is the greatest enormity, to which the most deplorable state of savage life was ever able to impel mankind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ferocity of these barbarians, Balboa succeeded in dispersing the inhabitants of Darien, in subjecting them or gaining their confidence, and he settled his country men on their territory.

ONE day as he was dividing some gold with one of his companions, a contest arose between them. A savage, incensed at a rapaciousness so repugnant to his manners, shook the scales so violently, that he overset all the gold that was in them. *Since you quarrel for such a trifle,* said he to the two Spaniards, *and it is this metal which has made you quit your country, and barasts so many nations, I will lead you to a place, where you shall be satisfied.* He fulfilled his engagement, and conducted Balboa, with one hundred and fifty Spaniards, across a neck of land sixteen or seventeen leagues long to the coast of the South Sea.

PANAMA, which was built there in 1518, opened a new and extensive career, to the restlessness and avarice of the Castilians. The ocean, which washed its walls conveyed them to Peru, whose riches were boasted of

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in this part of the new world, though but in a vague manner. The reports that prevailed concerning the strength of this immense empire did not cast a damp upon that ardour which its treasures excited; and the world saw without astonishment three men, born in obscurity, undertake at their own expence to subvert a throne that had subsisted with glory for several centuries.

FRANCIS PIZARRO, who is the most known among them, was the natural son of a gentleman of Estramadura. His education had been so neglected that he could not read. Tending of flocks, which was his first employment, not suiting his character, he embarked for the new world. His avarice and ambition inspired him with a boundless activity. He was in every expedition, and signalized himself in most of them; and he acquired in the several situations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indispensably necessary to advancement, but in particular to those who by their birth have every difficulty to struggle with. The use he had hitherto made of his natural and moral abilities, persuaded him that nothing was above his talents, and he formed the plan of exerting them against Peru.

To these designs he associated Diego de Almagro, whose birth was equivocal, but whose courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable in those camps in which he had grown old. In this school he had acquired a frankness which is oftener learnt here than in other situations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

THE fortune of two soldiers, though considerable, being found insufficient to the conquest they meditated, they joined themselves to Fernand de Luques. He was a mercenary priest, who had amassed prodigious wealth by all the methods which superstition renders easy to his

his profession, and by some means peculiar to the manners of that age. BOOK  
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As the basis of their association the confederates mutually agreed, that each should engage the whole of his property in this enterprize; that the wealth accruing from it should be equally shared, and that they should reciprocally observe an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each was to act in this great scene, were distributed as the good of the common cause required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the succours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociousness, was completed by fanaticism. Luques publicly consecrated a host; part of which he ate, and divided the rest between his two associates; all three swearing by the blood of their God, that to enrich themselves, they would not spare the blood of man.

THE expedition commenced under these horrible auspices, was not fortunate; the measures being continually interrupted by famine, sickness, and misunderstanding, by a profound ignorance of the theory of the winds and currents, and by the arms of the Indians they found themselves reduced to the necessity of returning without having effected any establishment, or done any thing worthy of being transmitted to posterity. At the end of 1526, Panama received the wrecks of an armament, which two years before had excited its jealousy.

FAR from being discouraged by these calamities, the three associates were fired with a more vehement passion of possessing treasures which were now better known to them. They imagined that they should at last assuredly acquire them, if they could disengage themselves from a dependence on the governor of Panama, who had opposed them, sometimes openly, at other times clandestinely. The court of Spain granted them what they solicited, and their audacity now took a higher

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flight. In 1530 they fitted out three vessels, on board of which they embarked one hundred fourscore and five soldiers, thirty-seven horses, arms, and ammunition. These forces, which were successively augmented by some feeble reinforcements, were commanded by Pizarro, who after a series of extreme difficulties which his intrepid avarice surmounted, at last arrived at Tumbez on the frontiers of Peru.

State of  
Peru when  
it was dis-  
covered

If the Spaniards may be credited, Peru had been an extensive and civilized empire for four centuries. It was founded by Manco-Capac, and by his wife Mama-Ocello-Huaco. It has been conjectured that those two persons might be the descendants of certain navigators of Europe or the Canaries, who were shipwrecked on the coast of Brasil.

To support this conjecture, it has been said, that the Peruvians divided the year as we do into three hundred and sixty-five days, and that they had some notion of astronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon where the sun sets in the summer and winter solstice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards destroyed as being monuments of Indian superstition. It has been asserted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than the natives of the country, and that several of the royal family had beards; but it is a known fact, that there are certain features, whether ill-formed or irregular, that are preserved in some families, though they do not constantly pass from generation to generation. And lastly, it has been said, that it was a tradition generally diffused throughout Peru, and handed down from age to age, that there would one day arrive by sea men with beards, and of such superiority in arms, that nothing could resist them.

If there should be any of our readers disposed to adopt this opinion, they must necessarily allow that there must have elapsed a considerable space of time between the ship-

shipwreck, and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. Without supposing this immense interval, would not the legislator have given the savages whom he collected together, some notion of writing, though he should not himself have been able to read? Would he not have taught them several of our arts and methods of doing things? Would he not have instructed them in certain tenets of his religion? Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we must necessarily believe that the vessel of his ancestors was wrecked on the coasts of America at an æra so remote, that the succeeding generations must have forgotten all the customs of the place from whence they sprang.

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It was on a hilly country that Manco at first established his dominion. Perhaps, he found there people less barbarous, better disposed to receive instruction, and who had already begun to be civilized. It is far from being improbable that society forms much more slowly in countries that are fruitful and abounding in vegetables, than in those to which nature has been less bountiful. It is the want men have of assistance from each other, that more strongly induces them to unite in society; and this reciprocal dependance is more sensibly felt on barren mountains, than in fruitful plains.

THE two legislators declared themselves the children of the sun. Undoubtedly they thought that this prejudice would animate the Peruvians, rouse their courage, and inspire them with a greater attachment to their country, and more submission to the laws. Was this fiction more absurd than those which have been so warmly embraced by some celebrated nations, which still are our guides and our models?

By the aid of this deceit the empire of the Incas had flourished under eleven sovereigns, who were all prudent, humane and just, when the emperor Huana Capac seized upon Quito. In order to secure the possession of it, he married

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married the only heiress of the dethroned king, from whom he had a son named Atabalipa. This young prince, after the death of his father, demanded the inheritance of his mother. His elder brother Huascar refused to put him in possession of it; on which they had recourse to arms. The most ambitious of the two brothers was beaten, taken prisoner, and shut up in Cusco, where he was afterwards strangled. His happy rival, now elevated above his warmest expectations, found himself master of all the provinces.

THESE troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased, when the Spaniards landed in the empire. Those people who were willing to appease the sun, whom they believed was incensed against them, loaded these strangers with presents, shewed them the kindest offices, and manifested a respect for them which bordered on adoration. In that confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, nobody thought of opposing Pizarro's march, who arrived without the least obstruction at the palace of Caxamalca. He was but just arrived, when he received from Atabalipa, who was not far distant, fruits, corn, emeralds, and several vases of gold and silver. The reception which the court gave to his brother Fernando, corresponded with these advances. They were profuse in civilities, and lavished treasures, and marks of distinction upon him. The emperor however did not dissemble his desire that the Spaniards would quit his provinces, and he publicly declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief proper measures for this retreat.

To prepare for battle without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court,  
and

and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter. BOOK  
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ATABALIPA came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thousand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principle officers, and said to them: *These strangers are the messengers of the Gods; be careful of offending them.* They were now pretty near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverde, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped him in his march, and, by his interpreter, made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the christian religion, pressed him to embrace this mode of worship, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

THE emperor, who had heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal; the pope must surely be a very extraordinary man. to give so liberally what does not belong to him. I shall not change my religion for another; and if the christians adore a God who died upon a cross, I worship the sun who never dies. He then asked Vincent where he learnt all that he had just said of God and the creation. *In this book*, replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance! Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel? Kill these dogs; who trample under foot the law of God!*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty restrained that fury, and that thirst of blood which the sight of the gold and of the infidels had inspired them  
with



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with, instantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impression that must have been made on the Peruvians by the sight of the horses who trampled upon them, and by the noise and effect of the cannon and musketry which beat them down. These wretches fled with such precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful slaughter was made of them. Pizarro himself advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the sword all that surrounded his throne, took the monarch prisoner, and pursued all the rest of the day those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the ministers, the flower of the nobility, all that composed the court of Atabalipa, were massacred. They did not even spare that prodigious crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to see their emperor and the Spaniards. Whilst this carnage continued, Vincent ceased not to animate the assassins who were tired with slaughter, exhorting them to use not the edge but the point of their swords, in order to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this atrocious butchery, they passed the night in drunkenness, dancing, and all the excesses of debauchery.

IN the mean time Pizarro's thoughts were engaged in contriving how he should get rid of his prisoner. Vincent said that he was an hardened prince, that ought to be treated like Pharaoh. There was in the train of the Spanish general, an Indian who had embraced the christian faith. His name was Philipillo, and he was employed as interpreter. They pitched upon him to frame an accusation against the emperor for having designed to raise his subjects against the tyrants. On this sole deposition, Atabalipa was condemned to death. They had the effrontery to try him with all the forms, and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences, that must necessarily be expected from it.

AFTER

AFTER this judiciary assassination, Pizarro penetrated into the inland parts of the empire. Cusco opened to him its gates, and offered him more treasures, than there perhaps were in all Europe before the discovery of the new world. These treasures became the spoil of two hundred Spaniards, who, though masters of such immense riches, sought for more, impelled by that thirst of gold which increases in proportion as it is gratified. Temples and private houses were stripped from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Peruvians were oppressed in all parts, and rapes committed every where on their wives and daughters.

THE people driven to desperation took up arms, and laid siege at once to Cusco and Lima: but these unhappy wretches in several engagements were not able to kill more than six hundred of their enemies; who continually receiving fresh supplies, were at last universally victorious. In a little time the Spaniards in Peru amounted to the number of three thousand musketeers, without reckoning pikemen, archers, and cavalry. The Peruvians were under a necessity of submitting to the yoke, such as the tyrants chose to impose on them.

So remarkable a revolution hath been a subject of amazement to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of access, where one must continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow passes and defiles. One is their obliged to be incessantly passing and repassing torrents and rivers, the banks of which are always steep. Four or five thousand men, with a moderate share of courage and understanding would destroy the most numerous and best disciplined armies. How could it then possibly happen that a whole nation did not even attempt to dispute a country, the nature of which was so well known to them, against a few plunderers who had not the least idea of it?

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THE reason is, because fear is the child of ignorance and amazement; because a disorderly multitude can do nothing against a small number of disciplined forces, and because courage unarmed cannot resist cannon shot. Thus without having recourse to that vain prophecy, which proclaimed the Spaniards as the avengers of the Gods, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, even though the domestic dissensions with which it was then agitated, had not facilitated their subjection.

THE empire which now received the Spanish yoke had been governed for four centuries, or perhaps more, by a race of conquerors, who appeared to have conquered only for the happiness of the human species. They descended from a legislator, who could not perhaps have been paralleled in history, if Confucius had not had one advantage over him, that of having no occasion to recur to superstition, to insure allegiance and obedience to his laws.

MANCO Capac, who collected together the savages of Peru, that were scattered among the forests, styled himself the offspring of the sun, who was sent by his father to teach men to be good and happy. He persuaded a great number of savages to adhere to him, and he founded the city of Cusco.

HE taught his new subjects to cultivate the ground, to sow corn and pulse, to wear cloaths, and build houses. His wife taught the Indian women to spin, to smooth cotton and wools; and instructed them in all the exercises suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic oeconomy.

HE told them that they must adore the sun; he built temples to this luminary, and abolished human sacrifices, and even those of animals. His descendents were the only priests of his nation.

To a religion replete with humanity were joined parental laws. A most wise institution enjoined that a  
young

young man, who should commit a fault, should be slightly punished; but that his father should be responsible for him. Thus it was that sound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

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POLYGAMY was prohibited; and adultery in both sexes punished. No one was allowed to have concubines but the emperor, because the race of the sun could not be too much multiplied. These concubines were selected from among the virgins consecrated to the temple.

IDLENESS was punished as the source of wickedness, and therefore as the greatest of crimes. Those whom age and debility incapacitated for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they should preserve the lands that are sown from the devastation of birds. Every one was obliged to make his own shoes, manage his own house, and construct his plough. women made the apparel, and every single family knew how to supply its own wants.

THE Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance led them to it. Those common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for their succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; the union which must reign in those decuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, because the punishments that were inflicted for the faults of one individual, fell on the whole body; that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family, which was the empire; all these manners maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit, and contributed as much as possible to substitute the

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the most sublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators.

THESE virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction, as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of utility to the public good, wore as a mark of decoration cloaths wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were statues of men, who by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

SUCH great men were also the customary subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

THERE was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were represented. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and people of distinction, and were held up to them as models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic economy,

THE whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him. A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families, others over a hundred five hundred, and a thousand.

THE decurions, and the other superintending officers up to the superintendant of a thousand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to solicit punishments and rewards

wards for each, and to give information if there was any want of provisions, cloaths, and corn for the year. The superintendent of a thousand made his report to the minister of the Inca.

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ALL the laws were severe, but this severity was attended only with good effects. The Peruvians were strangers to crimes. All their laws were reputed to come to them from the sun, which threw light upon their actions. Thus the violation of a law became a sacrilege. They even went of their own accord to reveal their most secret faults, and to solicit permission to expiate them. They told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas, that had deserved punishment.

THE lands of the kingdom, that were susceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the sun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. The first were cultivated in common, as were likewise the lands of orphans, widows, old men, the infirm, and the soldiers who were with the army. These were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the sun, and before those of the emperor. The time for this duty was announced by festivals: it was begun and continued with the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns.

THE emperor levied no tribute, and exacted nothing from his subjects, but the cultivation of his lands; the whole produce of which, being deposited in public magazines, was adequate to all the charges of the empire.

THE lands, dedicated to the sun, provided for the maintenance of the priests and for the expence of consecrating those magnificent temples whose inside was incrusted with gold, and whose roofs were of silver.

WITH regard to the lands, that were in the hands of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even

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estates for life: the division of them was continually varying, and was regulated with strict equity according to the number of heads which composed every family. There was no other wealth, but what arose from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the state.

THIS custom of moveable possession has been universally censured by intelligent people. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never rise to any strength, and to any greatness, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the first of these means, we should see on the globe only wandering and naked savages, wretched by subsisting on such fruits and vegetables, as are the sole and scanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the second, every individual would live only for himself; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, that paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpressible consciousness that we feel in benefiting posterity, urge us to pursue. The system of some bold speculatists, who have regarded property, and particularly that species of it which is hereditary, as an usurpation of certain members of society over others, is refuted by the fate of all those institutions, where their principles have been reduced to practice. They have all miserably perished, after having languished for some time in a state of depopulation and anarchy. Peru alone hath prospered on so uncertain a basis.

THE reason probably is, that the Incas not knowing the use of imposts, and having only the commodities of nature to supply the necessities of government, must have been obliged to study how to multiply them. They were seconded in the execution of this project by their ministers, by inferior officers, and by the soldiers themselves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their subsistence and the support

port of their rank. Hence so much solicitude to augment them. This attention might have for its principal object, the introduction of plants into the lands of their sovereign: but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours, which the nature of their soil, of their climate, and of their consumptions rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages, notwithstanding the ever active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty, that they should never see their harvests ravaged by a restless neighbour; the Peruvians never raised themselves above the mere necessities of life. We may venture to assert that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable and hereditary property.

THE Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had neither commerce nor luxury; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. They had not even hieroglyphics, which among all nations were the first essays towards writing; and their *quippos*, which supplied the place of writing among them, were not so good as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, nor even as those of the Iroquois.

BUT the Peruvians being without property, without trade, and almost without the relation of mutual interest, governed moreover by masters, whose will framed all those transitory laws, which regulated their manners, had scarcely any occasion for writing. All their sciences consisted in memory, and all their arts in example. They learnt their religion and their his-



**B O O K** tory by songs, and their duties and professions by labour  
**III.** and imitation.

THEIR legislation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, since it supposed the prince always just and infallible, and the magistrates as perfect as the prince. Among a civilized people, who had not the art of writing, the laws must have been fatal, when their manner did not determine the application and use of them; when not only the monarch, but his officers, a superintendent of ten, of an hundred, of a thousand, might change at his pleasure the destination of punishments and rewards. Among such a people, the wisest laws being destitute of all precision and stability, must insensibly change, nor would there remain a possibility of bringing them back to their primitive character.

THE counterbalance of these dangers was found in their absolute ignorance of gold and silver coin; an ignorance, which in a Peruvian despot rendered the fatal phrenzy of amassing riches impossible. It was found in the constitution of the empire, which had determined the amount of the sovereign's revenue, by determining the portion of lands which belonged to him. It was found in the extremely small number and moderate nature of their wants, which being easily gratified, rendered the people happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the observation of the laws a matter of conscience. Thus was the despotism of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence, between the sovereign and the people; a confidence, which resulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the constant protection he granted to all his subjects, and from the evident interest they had in preserving their obedience to him.

A PYRRHONISM, which hath succeeded to a blind credulity, and hath been sometimes carried to unjustifiable lengths, hath for some time endeavoured to throw a cloud

cloud over what has been just related of the laws, manners, and happiness of antient Peru. This picture hath appeared to some philosophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the destroyers of this distinguished part of the new world, was there a single ruffian capable of inventing a fable so consistent in all its parts? Was there any among them humane enough to wish to do it, should he have been capable of the task? Would he not have been restrained by the fear of augmenting that hatred, which so many devastations had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witnesses, who would have seen the contrary of what was published with so much pomp? The unanimous testimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate successors, ought to be regarded as the strongest historical demonstration that can possibly be desired.

THE case is not the same in regard to those exaggerated relations, which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they found there. The desire of adding greater splendor to the glory of their triumphs, might perhaps blind them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at last totally destroyed, when intelligent persons travelled in this celebrated part of the new hemisphere.

WE must therefore consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist, except Cusco and Quito, but those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that

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we do not find even the ruins of any of those, of which such pompous descriptions have been published?

WE must consider as fabulous the account of those majestic palaces destined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their residence and in their travels. The royal mansions so pompously displayed, were nothing but flints placed one upon another, and covered with a reddish clay.

WE must consider as fabulous the relation of those fortified places, which defended the frontiers of the empire. Would it have been conquered in so short a time, if it had been furnished with such considerable means of defence? M. de la Condamine, who visited with that scrupulous attention that distinguishes him, the fort of Cannar, which is the best preserved, and the most considerable next to that of Cusco, found it to be of very small extent, and only ten feet high. A people, who knew not the use of pulleys, could hardly raise their buildings higher. They have not less exaggerated the size of the stones, that were employed in building their fortresses. After the most careful examination, there was not found any one of a size greater than common. When they wanted to transport these masses, they fastened cords to them, and a number of men, pushed, drew, and rolled the weight along. A nation which had made no greater progress in mechanics, could not execute any great things,

WE must consider as fabulous the history of those reservoirs, and aqueducts, that are worthy, say they, of the antient Romans. Neither of them were ever to be found in Peru, unless we choose to honour with these magnificent names, certain trenches that were made wherever there was an opportunity on the declivity of hills, to collect rain or spring water, and conduct it into the fields and valleys.

WE

WE must also consider as fabulous the display of those superb roads, which rendered the communication so easy. The great roads of Peru were nothing else but two rows of stakes disposed in a line, and intended for no other purpose but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any consequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traversed the whole empire. This, which was the most beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely destroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

WE must also consider as fabulous what has been said of those bridges, which are so much boasted of. How could the Peruvians raise stone bridges, who were ignorant of the method of constructing arches? But had they known this art, would not their want of lime have rendered it almost impracticable? It is certain, however, that the traveller was every moment stopped in his passage by a great number of torrents he met with among the mountains. To enable him to pass these, they extended from one bank to the other a long cord of osier, on which slid a basket, that held at most four men. The number of cords was afterwards multiplied, and they fixed hurdles upon them, by which a greater number of people crossed at the same time. The Spaniards, who seem born to destroy and not to build, have not failed to adopt so marvellous an invention.

WE must also consider as fabulous what hath been written on the signification of *quippos*. These were, say the Spaniards, registers made of cords, in which, by means of different knots and different colours, they expressed every thing they wished. The remembrance of any essential points of history, manners, and ceremonies, was perpetuated by knots; and small strings tied to the principal cords recalled to their minds circumstances of less importance. These memoirs were deposited in the custody of officers appointed

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by public authority, and an entire confidence was placed in their integrity. In reality, these singular annals exhibited no regular narrative, and could only serve for certain calculations, or for preserving the memory of some particular event.

THE Spaniards do not deserve more credit, when they tell us of those baths that were made of silver and gold, as well as the pipes that supplied them; of those gardens full of trees, whose flowers were of silver and the fruit gold, and where the eye being deceived mistook art for nature; of those fields of maize, the stems of which were of silver, and the ears of gold; of those basso-reliefs, in which the herbs and plants were so admirably exhibited, that whoever saw was tempted to gather them; of those dresses covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the seed of pearl, and the workmanship of which the ablest goldsmiths of Europe could not have equalled. We shall not say, that these works were not worthy to be preserved, because they never had an existence. If the Greek statuaries in their compositions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But if we may judge of what hath perished by what still remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progress in the art of designing. The vases which have escaped the ravages of time, will serve as a signal proof of the industry of the Indians to supply their want of iron tools, but they will never be monuments of their genius. Several figures of animals, and of insects in massive gold, which were long preserved in the treasure of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them, for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnish succours for Carthage, that was then besieged by the English; and there was not found in all Peru, a Spaniard curious enough to purchase a single piece at the bare weight.

FROM

FROM what has been said, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made scarcely any advances in the abstract sciences; they even wanted words to express moral or metaphysical ideas. Most of the sciences depend on the progress of the arts, and these on accidents which do not occur naturally but in a course of several centuries, and of which the greatest part are lost to people, who have no intercourse with enlightened nations.

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If we reduce all these accounts to the simple truth, we shall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fusing gold and silver; that they even possessed the secret, which is lost in Europe, of giving copper a temper like to that we give to steel; but that, though they were acquainted with iron, they had never arrived at the knowledge of forging that metal, which is the very foundation of all arts. They never conceived the idea of burning bricks or tiles, the materials of which they had always at hand. They executed however things less commodious and more difficult. The view of torrents, which they saw hollowing out beds for themselves in rocks, probably gave them the idea of cutting stones. With hatchets of flint, and incessant friction, they contrived to square, to make them answer to each other, to give them the same height, and to join them without cement. Unhappily these instruments had not the same effect on wood, as they had upon stone. Thus it happened, that the same men who shaped granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortises, tenons, and pins; it was fastened to the walls only by rushes. The most remarkable buildings had only a covering of straw, supported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had only one floor, had no light but by the entrance, and consisted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

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Civil wars  
of the Spaniards  
after their  
conquest of  
Peru.

BUT whatever were the arts, which the Spaniards found in the country of the Incas, they could not secure the empire from the sway of its conquerors. A moment of resistance longer, and, perhaps, the Peruvians had been free. The conquerors had differences to settle among themselves, which did not admit of a division of their forces.

THE first intelligence of Pizarro's success had no sooner been carried to Panama, but Almagro, his principal associate, set out with the utmost expedition with new adventurers to share the treasures, lands, and government of Peru. There was in this claim an equity, which the author of the discovery was not disposed to perceive. From that time jealousy and hatred took possession of all their hearts. There were two chiefs, two parties, and two armies; and soon after, by means of a forced accommodation, two governments.

FROM the collision of these factions, necessarily resulted troubles of a new kind. Civil wars commonly originate from tyranny and anarchy. A power without limits, and a liberty without restraint, must produce the same consequences. The magistrate looks upon the people only as so many rebels to his authority, and the people in their turns only regard him as an usurper. Reason is too weak an instrument to regulate claims so repugnant to each other. The decision of rights is referred to the sword, and he that has the longest sword is found to have the best cause.

THOUGH the interests, which divided the Spaniards in Peru, were not of this importance, yet they were attended with the same, if not greater excesses. Almagro and his adherents, had passed the sea for no other purpose than to enrich themselves with the gold of the country. Of this they had less than their opponents, and they wanted to wrest it from them by the sword. Whether Pizarro thought his presence necessary elsewhere,

where, or whether, as he himself said, he felt a reluctance in fighting against his old friend, he committed to his brother Fernando the charge of conquering him; and his hopes were not disappointed. Almagro was beaten, and made prisoner, on the banks of the Apurimac, on the 6th of April 1538. The conqueror, who had private revenge to gratify, judged, that the author of these disturbances ought not to live. This great sacrifice he offered up, for the sake, as he said, of the public tranquillity.

THE partisans of Almagro, being dispersed by the death of their chief, conducted themselves with great prudence and circumspection. The absence of Fernando, who was gone to Europe, either to solicit a reward, or to justify his severity according to the dispositions he should find predominant at the court of Madrid, appeared to have extinguished in their bosom all resentment. They seemed to study nothing but how to obtain the good-will of the person, who had it in his power to dispense favours to all. By means of the confidence which they had the happiness to inspire, they lived without molestation, insensibly drew nearer to each other, and found a centre of communication in the son of a man, whose loss they had never ceased to deplore. The death of Francis Pizarro was solemnly and unanimously decreed among them.

ON the day fixed, which was in the month of June 1541, the conspirators at mid day crossed the streets of Lima. They had preferred the light of day to the obscurity of the night, in order by that means to prepossess the multitude in favour of the justice of their projects, or the justness of their measures, and to prevent even an idea of an attempt to frustrate them. Their stratagem succeeded, nobody stirred; and the conqueror of so many vast kingdoms was quietly massacred in the center of a town that he had founded,  
and



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and whose inhabitants were composed of his creatures, his servants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers. Those whom they judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him : their fury took a wide range, and every one who dared to shew himself in the streets and in the squares, was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. Avarice which would not see among the number of the rich any but the partisans of the old government, was still more furious than hatred, and became more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The image of a place carried by assault by a barbarous nation, would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror, which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had disappointed them.

THIS cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The antient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those, who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to designs, which filled them with horror. Those among them, who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital; and he marched into the heart  
of

of the empire to complete the reduction of every place that opposed or hesitated to acknowledge him.

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A MULTITUDE of ruffians joined him in his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvarez, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party. He lost in attempting to unravel their plots, that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In these circumstances, an event which nobody could have foreseen, happened to change the face of affairs.

THE licentiate Vaca di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant, hastened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealousy, which had for too long a time kept them dispersed, were no longer an obstacle to their re-union. Castro, who was as resolute as if he had grown grey under a helmet, did not suffer their impatience to languish, but instantly led them against the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpressible obstinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the close of the day decided in favour of that party, whose cause was the most just. Those among the rebels, who were most obnoxious, dreading to languish under disgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

WHILE

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WHILE these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been subjected to the court of Audience at Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintenance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. They established at Lima a supreme tribunal, for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with an authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

WE must judge of those revolutions which are produced by civil wars, by the causes from which they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if the goodness of their cause crowns them with victory, the calm which succeeds this transitory calamity, is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. A small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Justice and power are united; and every man is astonished to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him. But when civil wars proceed from a corrupt source; when slaves fight about the choice of a tyrant, when the ambitious contend in order to oppress, and robbers quarrel for the sake of spoil, the peace which terminates these horrors, is scarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals assume the place of those judges who disgraced them, and become the oracles of those laws, which they have insulted. Men ruined by their extravagancies

vagancies and debaucheries insult with an overbearing pomp those virtuous citizens, whose patrimony they have invaded. In this state of utter confusion, the passions only are heard. Avarice seeks to grow rich without trouble, vengeance to gratify its resentments without fear, licentiousness to throw off every restraint, and discontent to occasion a total subversion of things. From the phrenzy of carnage they pass to that of debauchery. The sacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude amuses itself with destroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus in a few hours perish the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an intire lassitude, or some lucky accidents suspend these calamities, the habit of wickedness, murder, and contempt of laws, which necessarily subsists after so many storms, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious soldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in hopes of a better condition; this situation of things, and these means of confusion, are always under the management of the first factious person who knows how to make use of them.

SUCH was the disposition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunez appeared among them. It was necessary that a change should take place, that their ferocity should be softened, that the men who had always lived in independence, should be curbed, that insatiable avarice should be checked; that injustice itself should be brought back to the first principles of equity, that those who had attended to nothing but their own private interests should be brought to concur to the public good, that adventurers who had even forgotten the name of their country should be converted into citizens, that property should be established where before they had only obeyed the law of force, that order should arise from the midst

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midst of confusion ; in a word, that monsters should be transformed into men.

So great a work would have required a profound genius, a conciliatory temper, an inflexible patience, extensive views, a pliant character, and many other qualities which are seldom united. Nunez had none of these endowments. Nature had only given him rectitude, firmness, and ardour ; and he had taken no pains to improve these gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his mission, without regard to places, persons, or circumstances.

CONTRARY to the opinion of all sensible people, who wished that he should wait for new instructions from Europe, he published ordinances which declared that the lands which the conquerors had seized, should not pass to their descendents, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians, who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and members of government, were declared free. Those who belonged to other masters, were to be freed from their shackles at the death of their oppressors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themselves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot, were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage, and those who travelled on horseback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were discharged from the obligation of furnishing the traveller and his retinue with provisions gratis. Other tyrannical establishments shortly too would have been proscribed, and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of them ;

them, but it should seem that the Spanish government was only to be unhappy in the good it attempted to effect.

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A CHANGE so unexpected filled those with consternation who saw their fortunes wrested from them, or who lost the flattering hope of transmitting theirs to posterity. Even those, who were not affected by this interest, being accustomed to look upon the Indians as the instruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, 'till he could be conveyed to Spain.

GONZALES PIZARRO was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from acting a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him ; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces, to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury on both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians took part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars, some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thousand of these unhappy wretches who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and destroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be sanguinary. After a

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variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunez, and the greatest part of his men, were massacred on this dreadful day.

PIZARRO took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses must be pulled down, as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenant; who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotic manner.

HAD Gonzales possessed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to have rendered himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even those, whose interests were more connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

SUCH a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of the Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca. The squadron, and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a person who was invested with a lawful authority to govern them. Those who lived concealed in deserts,  
caverns,

caverns, and forests, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonzales who saw no resource left to support him but in some great achievement, took the road of Cusco, with a resolution to give battle. At some leagues distance from this place, he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June 1548. One of his lieutenants seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman: but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This madman, when he was dying, made his boast that he had massacred with his own hand fourteen hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indians.

SUCH was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act had been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscriptions; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered, kept the Spaniards in the bounds of subjection. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised in their minds, insensibly sank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempest.

WITH regard to the Peruvians, they took the most cruel measures to render it impossible for them to stir. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their last king, had taken refuge in some remote mountains where he lived in peace. There he was so closely surrounded by the troops which had been sent out against him, that he was forced to surrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo caused him to be accused of several crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other descendents of the Incas shared the same fate, under pretence that they had conspired against their conquerors. The horror of these enormities



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mities excited so universal an indignation both in the old and the new world, that Philip the second thought himself obliged to disavow them ; but the infamous policy of this prince was so notorious, that nobody gave credit to this appearance of his justice and humanity.

FROM this execrable æra, there hath only been one trifling insurrection in Peru. An Indian, of the province of Xauxa, who declared himself of the blood of the Incas, was proclaimed king in 1742. His countrymen, who flattered themselves that they should soon recover their religion, their laws, their lands, and their glory, flocked in crowds to his standard : but they were beaten and dispersed, after having made a considerable progress. The prisoners declared that this conspiracy had been brooding for thirty years. A singular example in history, and which may be regarded as the most authentic proof of the hatred of the Peruvians against the Spaniards.

Natural  
state of  
Peru.

THE empire of Peru, at the time it was subdued, extended along the South Sea, from the river of Emeralds to Chili, and on the land side of Popayan, according to some geographers. It contained within its extent that famous chain of mountains which rises in the Terra Magellanica, and is gradually lost in Mexico, in order to unite, as it should seem, the southern parts of America with the northern. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three classes.

THE principal Cordeleras form the first : the summits of these, says M. de la Condamine, are lost in the clouds, and almost all of them are covered with enormous masses of snow as old as the world. From several of these summits which have in part tumbled down, and from these immense heaps of snow, torrents of smok and flame still issue. Such are the summits of Colopaxi, Tongouragua, and Sangai. The greatest part of the rest have formerly been volcanos, or will, probably,

probably, one day become such. History has only preserved to us the æra of their eruptions, since the discovery of America; but the pumice stones, the calcined earths with which they are strewn, and the evident vestiges that the flame hath left, are authentic testimonies of the reality of former eruptions: their height is prodigious.

CAYMBOUR, which is situated directly under the equator, and Antifona, which is only five leagues distant from it to the south, are more than three thousand toises high, reckoning from the level of the sea; and Chimboraco, which is near 3220 toises high, surpasses by one third the altitude of the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest mountain of the old hemisphere. Pitchincha and Caracón, where the French Academicians made most of their observations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only 2430 and 2470 toises of absolute height; and this is the highest mountain that was ever ascended. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater altitude inaccessible.

FROM this boundary, which is where the snow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, one hardly sees, in descending an hundred or an hundred and fifty toises down, any thing except naked rocks or dry sands: a little lower, one may perceive some moss that covers the rocks, various kinds of heath, which though green and damp, make a clear fire; round hillocks of spongy earth, on which grow small radiated and starry plants, whose petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this space, the snow is only temporary, but it continues sometimes whole weeks and months. Lower still, the ground is commonly covered with a sort of loose grass, which rises a foot and half high or two feet. This species of hay, is the proper characteristic that distinguishes the mountains which the Spaniards call *Paramos*; They only give this name to heath or such

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uncultivated ground that is too high for wood to grow on it, or where the rain seldom falls otherwise than in the form of snow, though it immediately melts. In a word, in descending still lower, to the height of about two thousand toises above the level of the sea, one sees it sometimes snow and sometimes rain.

WHEN we come down from these mountains, we find others that are less considerable, which occupy the middle of Peru. The summit of these is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks; and seem to offer to agriculture the most copious harvests. There are seldom above two months of winter here; and in the greatest heat, we need only pass out of the sun into the shade to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of sensation, is not, however, invariable in a climate, which by the disposition alone of the ground, often changes in the course of a league. But let it be as it will, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to these countries, and those of our climate seldom prevail there. An European vessel, however, in 1719 brought thither an epidemic disorder, which carried off a great number of Spaniards and Mestees, and above two hundred thousand Indians. A more fatal present still which these people have received in exchange for their gold, is the small-pox. It shewed itself here for the first time in 1588, and has not failed since to make at intervals inexpressible ravages.

THEY are not less exposed to this dire scourge on the coasts known by the name of vallies. Their temperature is not the same, as is elsewhere found in the same latitude. It is very agreeable; and though the four seasons of the year are sensibly felt here, there is none that can with propriety be deemed inconvenient. The winter is the most strongly marked. This has been accounted for by the winds of the south pole, which bring along with them

them the impression of those snows and that ice, from which they first came : but this they preserve only in part, because they blow while a thick fog lies upon the earth. In reality, these gross vapours never regularly rise but towards noon, but it is seldom that they disperse. The sky commonly continues covered with them to that degree, that the rays of the sun which sometimes appear, cannot but in a very slight manner mitigate the cold.

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WHATEVER may be the cause of so regular a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that these vallies which are covered with heaps of sand, are absolutely barren for a space of more than an hundred leagues, from Truxillo to Lima. The rest of the coast is less sandy, but it is still too much so to be fruitful. No fields are there found that can be styled fertile, except in such lands as are watered by the streams which descend from the mountains.

RAIN might contribute to impart to the soil the fertility of which it is destitute, but it is never known to rain in lower Peru. Natural philosophy has exerted her efforts to discover the cause of a phenomenon so extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the south-west wind which prevails there the greatest part of the year, and to the prodigious height of the mountains, whose summit is covered with eternal ice ? The country, situated between both, being continually cooled on one side and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise, can never be condensed so far as to be resolved into actual water. To this it is owing, that the houses though only built of crude brick or of earth mixed with a little grass, are of eternal duration. Their covering is only a simple matting, placed horizontally with a layer of asses an inch deep above, to absorb the moisture of the fog.

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THE same reasons, that prevent its raining in the vallies, undoubtedly also hinder storms. Those of their inhabitants, who never travelled in the mountains, are perfect strangers to thunder and lightening. Their terror is equal to their astonishment, when out of their country, they first behold so uncommon a spectacle.

BUT they have a phænomenon much more dangerous and dreadful, and which in its consequences leaves much deeper impressions in the human imagination than thunder and the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in other countries are so rare, that whole generations pass without beholding one, are so common in the valleys of Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a series of dates, which are so much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminish their violence. There are few places on this extensive coast, which present not most dreadful monuments of these horrible convulsions of the earth.

THIS phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its unexpected returns, is however announced by very perceptible omens. When it will prove considerable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noise of which is like that of heavy rain which falls from a cloud that suddenly bursts and discharges its waters. This noise seems to be the effect of a vibration of the air which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then observed to dart in their flight. Neither their tail nor their wings serve them any longer as oars and helm to swim in the fluid of the skies. They dash themselves in pieces against the walls, the trees, and the rocks, whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuses them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their strength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whose cavities and deep recesses, re-echo each others noises. The dogs answer these previous tokens of  
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a general disorder of nature by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals stop, and by a natural instinct spread out their legs asunder that they may not fall. Upon these indications, men instantly run out of their houses, with terror impressed on their countenances, and fly to search in the enclosures of public places, or in the fields, an asylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the sudden darkness of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity which subverts every thing, with the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is distressed and confounded, and loses in the contemplation of this disorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

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A LAND, however, so unsteady on its basis, was inhabited. Amidst these horrors of nature, which might seem calculated to make tyrants and slaves equally ferocious and brutal, was formed a flourishing empire. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the astonishing number of men employed in the government, and deriving their subsistence from the state. Such a number of persons employed, necessarily imply an immense population, in order to maintain with the productions of the earth a very numerous class of inhabitants, who are not themselves concerned in cultivation.

By what fatality then hath it happened at Peru is now such a desert? By ascending to the origin of things we find that those who conquered the coasts of the South Sea, being ruffians without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of New Spain. The metropolis was a longer time in checking their ferocity, which was continually fomented by those long and cruel civil wars,  
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that succeeded the conquest. A system of oppression was afterwards established, the progress of which it is proper to examine, with whatever horror it may inspire us.

To what  
 condition  
 the Spaniards  
 reduced the  
 Peruvians.

THE Peruvians were first of all stripped of their possessions, as the Mexicans had been. They left them only in common a part of those lands, which, in the times of the Incas, had been consecrated to public occasions. This portion hath been gradually diminished by the usurpations of powerful people, especially by the monks. The produce of the lands that remain for the maintenance of the infirm, the aged, the widows, and orphans, is not more respected; the greatest part of it is collected in the granaries of their oppressors.

THE liberty of the Indians underwent the same fate as their property. Those who were the slaves of government, and were employed in the labours indispensibly necessary for new establishments, were ill fed and ill clothed. When there was no longer any occupation for them, they were transferred to private persons, whose fields stood in need of hands to cultivate them. In truth, these new masters were obliged to retain them in their service only six months, after which they might return to their cottages; but avarice soon found means to render a transient servitude perpetual. The wages regulated for these unhappy wretches, was insufficient to detain them. They tempted them by advance money, which their necessity led them to accept. From that moment the greatest part of them found themselves engaged for life; because they had no right of going away 'till they had paid the debts which they had contracted, which their poverty rendered it impossible for them ever to do. Tyranny was carried to greater lengths against this species of insolvent debtors, who had a family; for they put them in prison. In order to their enlargement, their wives and their children were bound  
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for them, and these became as many new slaves. **BOOK**  
 This it was that the yoke of slavery was perpetuated. **III.**  
 The sole consideration that could have served as a check to this barbarity, was, that whilst they had these Indians, they could not have other slaves; but it was always of singular utility to keep men whom they had formed according to their several occasions; especially manufacturers, whom it would always be difficult, often impossible to replace.

WHILST most of the Peruvians belonging to the crown, fell in this manner into a state of servitude, those who had been reduced into subjection at the time of the conquest, were still more wretched. Though the master of the district where they dwelt, had no right to exact of them any thing except a tribute which he shared with the treasury, he appropriated to himself all their labour. Tyranny was pushed to that height, that it roused the attention of the government. It hath gradually suppressed all this despotism of individuals, and there was nothing of it remaining in 1750. The Indians however, who seemed to be restored to liberty by this new arrangement, have only changed the yoke. They have been destined to fill up the vacancy of the *Mitayos* or royal Indians, who perished in the service of those to whom they were consigned, and their condition is as wretched as it was before.

INDEPENDENT of this methodical and legal oppression which is exercised upon the whole nation, there are a thousand particular cruelties at which humanity no less recoils. It is expressly prohibited by law, that they shall oblige the Peruvians to work in the subterraneous mines, and there is no miner, who by this influence, or by his profusion, cannot compel them to it. These unhappy beings are condemned to pay 26 livres 5 sous (about 1*l* 3*s*.) of a poll tax from eighteen years of age to fifty, throughout the greatest part of Peru: the farmers



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mers exact this enormous tribute beyond the term settled, and even exact it twice a year, when the acquittances have been mislaid. Every proprietor of land who hath killed an Indian by overworking him, or letting him want necessaries, is obliged to lose another slave out of the number he is allowed to keep; and there are not, perhaps, two instances of this slight punishment for a crime which is repeated every day. The law obliges them to take all the inhabitants of a village to be enrolled, in order to fulfill the obligation imposed on the community: this destination is never fulfilled, but only by those who are incapable of redeeming themselves from the oppression. When a Spaniard had ceded a portion of land to a Peruvian in order to fix him on his estate, he has no right to deprive him of it 'till the clauses of the contract have been declared by law to be violated: the persons in power despise these forms, and resume their possessions whenever their interests or caprices prompt them to it. Travellers who are obliged to take nothing but by mutual consent, boldly seize every thing that they find in their huts. This continual pillage prevents the Indians from having any thing, even common necessaries. They sow no maize, but what is absolutely necessary for them, and they conceal it in secret caverns. The heads of a family possess alone the secret of this deposit, and go every eight days there to fetch provisions for the week. In fine, the corregidores have for the most part appropriated to themselves the exclusive right of selling to the Indians of their district the merchandize of Europe, they either make them pay an exorbitant price for it, or oblige them to purchase what they have no occasion for themselves.

If the court of Madrid pretends that they have prevented these flagrant enormities by giving the Peruvians a Spanish protector, who is obliged to defend them, and a cacique of the country who is charged with the management of their affairs, it is deceived. The protector  
annually

annually receives from each of them 13 sous; (about 7 pence.) and the cacique six sous and a half, (about 3 pence halfpenny.) in his particular jurisdiction: and this is the only reformation that has been made. The protector sells the Indians to any that will purchase, them, and the cacique is too much debased to be able to oppose this oppression.

RELIGION has not more power than the laws; it has still less. The clergy are the greatest enemies the Peruvians have. They make them work without paying them; and beat them unmercifully for the most trifling causes. When any one of these unhappy wretches is deficient with regard to his instructions, he is directly punished; and the strokes of a cudgel are the paternal correction which these pastors inflict. No one presumes to approach them without some present. They have permitted their parishioners to continue such of their antient superstitions as are useful to the church, as, for instance, the custom of carrying a great deal of provisions to the tombs of the dead: The clergy fix an arbitrary price to their functions, and they have always some pious inventions which give them occasion to exact new duties. The collections of the monks are real military executions. It is a species of plunder committed by authority, almost always accompanied with violence. This conduct could not fail to render christianity odious to the Indians. These people go to church as they do to the labours imposed upon them, execrating those foreign barbarians who overwhelm both their bodies and their souls with intolerable yokes and burdens.

THEY have in general preserved the religion of their ancestors; and even in the great towns, where they are not under the eyes of their tyrants, they have solemn days on which they assume their antient dress, and carry along the streets the images of the sun and moon. Some  
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among them represent a tragedy, the subject of which is the death of Atabalipa. The audience who begin with shedding tears, are afterwards transported into a kind of madness. It seldom happens in these festivals, but that some Spaniard is slain. One day, perhaps, this tragedy will end in the massacre of the whole race of the murderers of Atabalipa; and the priests who sacrificed him, will in their turn become victims for all the blood which they caused to be shed on the altar of a God of peace.

THE Peruvians are moreover an instance of that profound stupidity, into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. What should this people now be fond of, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery has taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which their country hath offered them, do not tempt them; luxury, to which nature invites them, has no attraction for them. They are even insensible to honour. They are whatever one pleases, without any ill humour, or choice, caciques or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. They have lost all their passions. That of fear itself has often no effect on them through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

THIS is the condition of almost all nations that have no property. In hot countries, where they live at a small expence, where the earth gives much, and requires little, every man, who can but subsist without ever being in possession of any property, passes his life in ease and beggary; and neither labours for the morrow, nor for posterity. The universal fault of bad governments,  
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and they are almost all so, is in the legislative code with regard to the article of property. It should either be said that none ought to be admitted, or the greatest possible equilibrium ought to be maintained in this social balance. But of all legislations, the most destructive and the least permanent is that of a nation composed of rich, and indolent proprietors, and slaves that are poor, and overburdened. It soon becomes only one general system of idleness: cruelties, gibbets, and tortures on one side; hatred, poison, and insurrection on the other; the ruin and destruction of both; the perdition and dissolution of society.

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THAT of Peru was reduced to a such state of depopulation, as rendered it necessary that it should be supplied by the purchase of a foreign race; but this mode of raising supplies, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than useful to the country of the Incas. They do not derive from it all the advantages with which they had flattered themselves. The government hath thought proper to throw obstacles in its way by monopolies and taxes which it ever imposes on vices as well as on virtues, on industry and idleness, on good and bad projects, on the right of exercising oppressions, and the permission of being exempted from them, on the power of putting the laws in execution, and the privilege of infringing or eluding them. Independent of these excessive duties laid on the introduction of negroes into Peru, it was necessary to receive them from an exclusive charter, and from foreign hands to import them across immense seas, and unwholesome climates, and to undergo the expence of several embarkations and disembarkations. Necessity, stronger than these obstacles, has however multiplied this species of men more at Peru than at Mexico. There is also a much greater number of Spaniards there for the following reasons.

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To what degree the Spaniards have multiplied in Peru. Where, and how, they have formed their settlements. What species of cultivation, and what industry they have introduced into the empire.

AT the time when the first conquests were made, when emigrations were most frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain, and in reality for a long time much greater treasures were brought away from it. They desire of partaking of them must necessarily draw thither, as was really the case, a greater number of Castilians. Though they all almost went over there, with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them settled in the colony. They were induced to this by the softness of the climate, the salubrity of the air, and the goodness of the provisions. Mexico presented not the same advantages, and did not give them reason to expect so much independence as a country infinitely more remote from the metropolis.

Cusco attracted the conquerors in multitudes. They found this capital built on ground that was very irregular, and divided into as many quarters as there were provinces in the empire. Each of the inhabitants might follow the usages of his native country; but every body was obliged to conform to the worship established by the founder of the monarchy. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or commodiousness; because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. The magnificence of what they called the palace of the sovereign, of the princes of the blood, and of the great men of his empire, consisted in the profusion of the metals that were lavished on decorating them. The temple of sun was distinguished above all other edifices; its walls were incrustated or sheathed with gold and silver, ornamented with divers figures, and loaded with the idols of all the nations whom the Incas had enlightened and subdued.

PROFLIGATE and idle monks have prostituted these rich metals to other superstitions; substituted to the useful

useful prejudices of the climate others of a more destructive kind, and expelled the natural errors, suited to the turn of the inhabitants, by foreign tenets, highly absurd in themselves, as well as repugnant to the human mind and to every social tie. The same fatality which subverts the universe, the ocean, the land, empires and nations; which alternately diffuses on the globe the illumination of the arts; and the darkness of ignorance; which transplants men and opinions, as the winds and currents drive fish and sea weeds on the shore: this same destiny has decreed that a set of proud monks, enervated at once by indolence and voluptuousness, should insolently indulge themselves in ease upon the ashes of the virtuous Incas, in the centre of an empire formerly so blessed under these legislators. This deplorable revolution does not hinder the Peruvians, who in general have the greatest aversion for living in cities, because inhabited by Spaniards, from voluntarily chusing to reside at Cusco. They still love to behold that venerable place from which those holy laws originated, which rendered their ancestors so happy. The remembrance of this inspires them with an elevation of soul; and they are found to be less stupid on this celebrated spot, than in other parts of their empire.

ON a hill, north of the capital, was a citadel, which the Incas had built with much care, time, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long spoke of this monument of Peruvian industry with a spirit of admiration that astonished all Europe. We have seen the ruins of this fortress, and the marvellous has disappeared: nothing has remained but the astonishment, which must necessarily be occasioned by the sight of the enormous masses of stone, which have been brought from a considerable distance, without the assistance of levers and other machines that are known to more enlightened nations.

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FOUR leagues from this fortress we meet with a delicious valley, where the Incas and the great men of the empire had their country houses. This enchanting retreat so well preserves its reputation, that the richest inhabitants of Cusco believe, that there is something deficient in their system of happiness when they cannot purchase a piece of ground there. The sick ordinarily repair thither in search of health, and it rarely happens but they find it.

As it was not a solicitude for their own preservation which occupied the Spaniards at first, they had no sooner pillaged the immense riches which had been amassed at Cusco for four centuries, that they went in great numbers in 1534, under the orders of Sebastian de Benalcazar, to undertake the destruction of Quito. The other towns and boroughs of the empire were over-run with the same spirit of rapine; and the citizens and the temples were plundered in all parts.

THOSE of the conquerors who did not take up their residence in the settlements which they found formed to their hands, built towns on the sea coasts, where before there were none; for the sterility of the soil had not permitted the Peruvians to multiply much there; and they had not been engaged to remove thither from the extremity of their country, for they sailed very little. Paita, Truxillo, Callao, Pisca, and Arica were the roads, which the Spaniards deemed most convenient for the communication they intended to establish among themselves and with the metropolis. The different positions of these new cities determined the degree of their prosperity.

THOSE which were afterwards built in the inland parts of the country, were not erected in regions which presented a fertile soil, copious harvests, excellent pastures, a mild and salubrious climate, and all the conveniencies of life. Those places which had hitherto been  
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so well cultivated by a numerous and flourishing people, were now totally disregarded. Very soon they exhibited only a deplorable picture of an horrid desert, and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolated plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

THIS insatiable thirst of gold which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have gone to ruin, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all has corresponded with the discovery, progress, or declension of the mines to which they are subordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived hardly on any thing else but maize, fruits and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the *chica* was the most usual, which was made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly inebriates, is, that it will not keep more than eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the worse kind of cyder. It is a refreshing, nourishing, and



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aperitive liquor. The Indians who are never troubled with suppressions of urine, are said to owe this advantage to the use of this drink.

THE conquerors were not satisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had subdued. They imported vines from the old world, which soon multiplied to that degree in the sands of the coasts at Ica, Pisca, Nasca, Moquequa, and Truxillo, as to furnish the colony with the wine and brandy they wanted. Olives succeeded still better, and yielded a great abundance of oil, which was much superior to that of the metropolis. Other fruits were transplanted with the same success. Sugar succeeds so well that none of any other growth can be compared to this which is cultivated in these parts where it never rains. In the inland country wheat and barley were sown; and at length all the European quadrupeds were soon found grazing at the foot of the mountains.

THIS was a considerable step, but there still remained much more to be done. After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of subsistence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dress more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. These were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this superiority to the advantage which they alone possessed of having the lama and the pacos, domestic animals which served them for this use.

THE lama is an animal four feet high, and five or six in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long snout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no incisors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like those of the ox, but furnished with a spur behind, which enables it to fasten itself on the sides of steep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool which is short on its back, but grows long on its sides and under the belly, constitutes part of

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its usefulness. Though very falacious, they copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostrates herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the desire of nature. Thus several of our domestic animals, that are chained, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose through ineffectual efforts the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention does not supply the place of that liberty, of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two breasts, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of short duration. At three years old it propagates its species, preserves its vigour till twelve, then decays till it reaches fifteen, being employed in drudgery.

THEY employ the lamas, as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about an hundred weight. They move with a slow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; descending through gullies and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they rest of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

NATURE has formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Americans. When they stop, they bend their knees and stoop their body in such a manner as not to discompose their burthen. As soon as they hear their driver whistle, they rise with the same care, and proceed on their journey. They browse on the grass they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when asleep, reclining on their breast, with

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their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither dispirited by fasting nor drudgery, whilst they have any strength remaining: but when they are totally exhausted or fall under their burthen; it is to no purpose to harass and beat them: they will continue obstinately striking their heads against the ground, first on one side, then on the other, till they kill themselves. They never defend themselves either with their feet or teeth; and in the height of their indignation, content themselves with only spitting in the face of those who insult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the ass is to the horse, a subordinate species, smaller in size, with shorter legs, and a flat snout; but of the same disposition, the same manners and the same constitution as the lama; made like the lama, to carry burthens, and more obstinate in its caprices, perhaps, because it is weaker.

THESE animals are so much the more useful to man, as their service costs him nothing. Their thick furr supplies the place of a pack saddle. The little grass, which they find along the road, suffices for their food, and furnishes them with a plentiful and fresh saliva, which exempts them from the necessity of drinking.

AMONG the lamas, there are some of a wild species called guanacos, which are stronger, more sprightly, and more nimble than the domestic lamas; running like the stag and climbing like the wild goat, covered with short wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds to the number sometimes of two or three hundred. If they see a man, they survey him at first with an air of greater astonishment than curiosity. Then snuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the summit of the mountains. These animals seek the north, travel on the ice, and sojourn within the regions of snow, dreading the heat of the low lands; they

they are vigorous, and appear in vast numbers on the Sierras, which are of the same height as the Cordeleras ; small in size, and difficult to be found in the heaths, which are at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them. BOOK  
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THE vicunas, a species of wild pacos, are still sonder of the summits of mountains, the snow and the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker set, and much finer than that of the guanacos. Its colour resembles that of dried roses, and so fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of those who are employed in working it. The vicunas are so timid, that their fear itself makes them an easy prey to the hunter. Men surround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have suspended pieces of cloath or linen on cords, that are raised three or four feet from the ground. These rags being agitated by the wind, strike such terror into them, that they stand crowded and squeezed one against another, suffering themselves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be among the vicunas, a guanaco which being more adventurous leaps over the cords, they follow it and escape.

ALL these animals belong so peculiarly to South America, and especially to the highest Cordeleras, that they are never seen on the side of Mexico, where the height of these mountains is considerably diminished. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all died. The Spaniards, without reflecting, that these animals even in Peru itself sought the coldest parts, transported them to the burning plains of Andalusia. They might, possibly, have succeeded at the foot of the Alps or the Pyrennees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for so many useful and profound observations on animals, is worthy

**B O O K** the attention of statesmen, whose steps ought always  
**III.** to be guided by the lights of philosophy.

**THE** flesh of the lamas, when they are young is good eating. The skin of the old one serves the Indians for shoes, and the Spaniards for harness. The guanacos may also be eaten; but the vicunas are only sought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

**IN** general, the wool of the lamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas was usefully employed by the Peruvians, before the conquest. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of it for the use of the court, in which flowers, birds and trees were pretty well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. They tuck them up in order to have their arms free. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps, their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented with emeralds, and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons of distinction were made of cotton of considerable firmness, and dyed with various colours. The common people, in the same climate, had no cloathing at all except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts nature intended should be concealed.

**AFTER** the conquest all the Indians were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppression under which they groaned, did not allow them to exercise their former industry, they took up with the coarser cloths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and silver which had escaped the rapacity of the conquerors were exhausted, they thought of re-establishing their national manufactures. These were some time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency, which they occasioned in the exports of the metropolis. The impossibility, which the Peruvians found  
of

of purchasing foreign stuffs and paying their taxes, occasioned permission to be given at the end of ten years for their re-establishment. They have not been discontinued since that time, and have been brought to as great perfection as it was possible they could be under a continual tyranny.

WITH the wool of the vicuna they make, at Cusco and in its territory, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. These manufacturers would have been multiplied, if the spirit of destruction had not fallen on the animals as well as on the men. The same wool mixed with that of the sheep imported hither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably fine cloth. Fleeces of inferior quality are employed in serges, druggets, and in all kinds of coarse stuffs.

THE manufactures that serve to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco and Lima. In these three towns they make a prodigious number of gold toys and plate for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. All these manufactures are but coarsely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. We seldom discover more taste in their laces and embroideries which their manufactures also produce. This is not altogether the case in regard to their lace, which when mixed with European, looks very beautiful. The different works are commonly in the hands of the nuns, who employ the Peruvian girls, and the young Mestees of the towns, who for the most part before marriage pass some years in the convent.

OTHER hands are employed in painting and gilding leather for rooms, in making with wood and ivory pieces of inlaid work and sculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that is found at Cuenca, or on linen imported from Europe. These different works, which are almost all manufactured at Cusco, serve for ornaments  
to

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to houses, palaces, and temples, the drawing of them is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able masters, and excellent models, they would at least make good copyists. At the close of the last century, they brought to Rome some of the works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jacques, in which the connoisseurs discovered marks of genius.

THESE particulars will interest such of our readers, whom we shall have inspired with affection for one of the best nations that ever existed, and with esteem for one of the most excellent institutions that ever did honour to mankind. Those who are strangers to that universal benevolence which extends to all nations and all ages, will have experienced other sentiments. Accustomed to behold nothing in Peru but the produce of its mines, they must consequently regard with contempt every thing that has not a direct relation to their avarice. This would diminish, perhaps be totally suspended, if they were but disposed frequently to revolve by what barbarity and enormities it has been gratified.

Of the  
mines of  
Peru.

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the use of gold and silver; for they employed them in different kinds of ornaments. Independent of what the torrents and accidents procured them of these metals, some mines had been opened of little depth, which were not far below the surface of the earth. The Spaniards have not transmitted to us the manner, in which these rich productions were drawn from the bosom of the earth. Their pride, which has deprived us of so much useful knowledge, undoubtedly made them think, that in the inventions of a people whom they called barbarous, there was nothing that was worthy to be recorded.

THIS

THIS difference as to the manner in which the Peruvians worked their mines, did not extend to the mines themselves. The conquerors opened them on all sides. At first the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number. Fatal experience discouraged those whom passion had not blinded. They clearly saw, that for some enormous fortunes raised in this manner, great numbers who had only moderate fortunes were totally ruined. These mines sank into such discredit, that in order to prevent them from being abandoned, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, instead of the fifth which it at first received.

THE mines of silver were more common, more equal, and richer. They even produced silver of a singular species, rarely found elsewhere. Towards the sea coast, great lumps of this metal are found in the sands. Subterraneous fires, volcanos, and the revolutions which America hath experienced and still continues to suffer, seem to indicate the causes of the transposition of those metallic masses, that are met with in several parts of this continent.

THERE are a great number of other mines which are infinitely more important, and are found in the rocks and on the mountains. Several of them gave false hopes. Such in particular was that of Ucuntaya, discovered 1713. This was only an incrustation of almost massive silver, which at first yielded several millions, but was soon exhausted.

OTHERS which were deeper, have been alike deserted. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not sufficient to support the expence of working them, which augmented every day. The mines of Quito, Cusco, and Arequipa, have experienced that revolution which awaits many of the rest.

THERE are great numbers of very rich mines which the waters have invaded. The disposition of the ground  
which



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which from the summit of the Cordeleras goes continually shelving to the South Sea, must necessarily render these events more common at Peru than in other places. This inconvenience, which with greater care and skill might often have been prevented or diminished, has been in some instances remedied. A single instance will be sufficient to shew that the avarice of mankind can struggle against that of nature, when she conceals or withdraws from us her treasures.

JOSEPH SALCEDO, about the year 1660, had discovered not far from the town of Puna, the mine of Laycacota. It was so rich, that they often cut the silver with a chisel. Prosperity, which debases little minds, had so elevated that of the proprietor of so much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to seek their fortune in this part of the new world to work some days on their own account, without weighing or taking any account of the presents he made them. This generosity drew around him an infinite number of people, whose avidity made them quarrel with each other; the love of money made them take up arms, and fall upon one another; and their benefactor, who had neglected no expedient to prevent and extinguish their sanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. Whilst he was in prison the water got possession of his mine. Superstition soon made it imagined that this was a punishment for the horrid act they had perpetrated against him. This idea of divine vengeance was revered for a long time; but at last in 1740, Diego de Bacna associated with other opulent people, to avert the springs, which had deluged so much treasure. The labours, which this difficult undertaking required, were not finished till 1754. The mine yields as much now as it did at first. But mines still richer than this have been discovered, which have experienced no revolution. Such, for example, is that of Potosi, which

was



was found in the same country, where the Incas worked that of Porco. BOOK  
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AN Indian, named Hualpa, in 1545, pursuing some deer, in order to climb certain steep rocks laid hold of a bush, the roots of which loosened from the earth, and brought to view an ingot of silver. The Indian had recourse to it for his own use, and never failed to return to his treasure every time that his wants or his desires solicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanica, to whom he avowed the secret. The two friends could not keep their counsel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; on which the indiscreet confident discovered the whole to his master Villareal, a Spaniard that was settled in the neighbourhood. Upon this the mine became known and was worked; and a great number of them were found in its vicinity; the principal of which are in the northern part of the mountain, and their direction is from north to south. The most intelligent people of Peru have observed, that this is in general, the direction of the richest mines.

THE fame of what was passing at Potosi soon spread abroad, and quickly there was built at the foot of the mountain, a town consisting of sixty thousand Indians, and ten thousand Spaniards. The sterility of the soil did not prevent it's being immediately peopled. Corn, fruits, flocks, American stuffs, European luxuries arrived there from every quarter. Industry which every where follows the current of money, could not search for it with so much success as at its source. It evidently appeared that in 1738 these mines produced annually 22,338,975 livres, (near 978,000*l*) without reckoning the silver which was not registered, and what had been carried off by fraud. From that time the produce has been so much diminished, that no more than one eighth  
part

**BOOK** part of the coin which was formerly struck, is now  
**III.** made.

THE mine of Potosi, and all the mines of south America, in purifying their gold and silver, use mercury, with which they are supplied from Guanaca Velica. Mercury, says an able naturalist, is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth; it is either altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, and then it is denominated virgin mercury, because it has not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine; or it is found combined with sulphur, and then it forms a substance of a red colour which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

TILL the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itself, and for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliae*. They were discovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop in order to pass along; there are places where it is so hot, that if one stops ever so short a time, one is in a profuse sweat: it is from these subterraneous caverns that mercury is drawn. Some stones are replete with it to that degree, that when they are bruised, this substance issues out in the form of globules or drops. 'Tis found also in a species of clay: sometimes even this mercury is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously among the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that a man has often gathered thirty-six pound of it in a day.

THERE

THERE are some people so enamoured of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other ; which is mere prejudice. Experience shews that the best mercury that can be used either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to separate the combination of sulphur and mercury, which nature hath formed between these two volatile substances, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. This last species of mercury is drawn from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friul, and Normandy ; especially from Almaden in Spain, which was a famous mine even in the time of the Romans, and which with that of Guança Velica has for some short time contributed to serve the Spanish colonies.

THE common opinion is, that this last mine was discovered in 1564. The trade of mercury was then still free : it became an exclusive trade in 1571. At this period all the mines of mercury were shut, and that of Guança Velica alone was worked, the property of which the king reserved to himself. It is not found to diminish. This mine is dug in a prodigiously large mountain, sixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyss are seen streets, squares, and a chapel, where the mysteries of religion on all festivals are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it.

THE earth, which contains the quicksilver of this mine, is, according to the opinion of a celebrated traveller, of a whitish red, like ill burnt brick. It is pounded, and put into an earthen kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, somewhat of a spherical form. This is extended on an iron grate covered with earth,  
under

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under which they keep up a gentle fire with the herb *icbo*, which is fitter for this process than any other combustible matter, and the cutting of which on this account is prohibited twenty leagues round. The heat which penetrates this earth makes the pounded mineral so hot, that the quicksilver issues out of it volatilised in smoke. But as the upper part is closely stopped, the smoke finds no issue but by a small hole which has a communication with a series of earthen retorts that are round, and the necks of which are inserted into each other. There, this smoke circulates and condenses by means of a little water, which is at the bottom of each retort. The quicksilver then falls in a well formed liquid. Less of it is collected in the first, than in the last retorts. They would all grow so hot as to break in pieces, if care was not taken to sprinkle them on the outside with water.

PRIVATE people at their own expence work the mine of Guanña Velica. They are obliged to deliver to government at a stipulated price all the mercury they extract. As soon as they have the quantity which the demands of one year require, the work is suspended. Part of the mercury is sold on the spot, and the rest is sent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru, from whence it is delivered out at the same price as it is sold for in Mexico. This arrangement, which has occasioned many of the mines to drop, and prevented others from being opened, is inexcusable in the Spanish system. The court of Madrid, in this respect, merits the same reproaches as a ministry in other countries would incur, that would be blind enough to lay a duty on the implements of agriculture.

THE mine of Guanña Velica generally affects those who work in it with convulsions: this and the other mines, which are not less unhealthy, are all worked by the Peruvians. These unfortunate victims of an insatiable avarice are crowded all together and plunged naked  
into

into these abyſſes, the greateſt part of which are deep and all exceſſively cold. Tyranny has invented this refinement in cruelty to render it impoſſible for any thing to eſcape its reſtleſs vigilance. If there are any wretches who long ſurvive ſuch barbarity, the uſe of cocoa preſerves them.

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THE cocoa is a ſhrub which hardly ever riſes higher than from three to four feet; its fruit is diſpoſed in bunches. It is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it hath attained its maturity. Its leaf which is ſoft, of a pale green, and reſembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it after having mixed it with a white earth which they call *mambis*, they ſubſtitute it for food; it ſtrengthens their ſtomachs; it ſupports their courage. If thoſe who are buried in the mines are in want of it, they ceaſe working, and no means whatever can force them to reſume their labour. Their oppreſſors, therefore, furniſh them with as much as they require, ſubſtracſing the price of it from their daily wages. The environs of Cuſco furniſh the beſt cocoa.

THIS plant, the other productions of the country, and all the fruits of induſtry, are diſperſed throughout the empire in three different ways. The towns ſituated on the coaſt are furniſhed with provisions by veſſels that are adapted to thoſe ſeas, which are always calm. An innumerable multitude of mules, with which they are ſupplied from Tucuman, are the mediums of that connection which ſeveral provinces have with each other. The greateſt circulation is effected by means of the Guayaquil.

Mutual  
communi-  
cation of  
the differ-  
ent pro-  
vinces of  
Peru.

ON the banks of this river, which riſes in the Cordeleraſ, the Spaniards at the time of the conqueſt built a pretty conſiderable town, ſix leagues from the ſea. This is defended by three forts lately erected, and only gariſoned with burgeſſes. They are built with large pieces

**BOOK** of wood, disposed in pallisades. The nature of this  
 III. wood, which is proof against water, suits the moisture  
 of the soil.

It is mentioned in the accounts of a Spanish philosopher, that on this coast, as well as on that of Guatimala, is found the murex which yields that purple so celebrated by the antients, and which the moderns have imagined was lost. The shell, which contains them, adheres to the rocks which the sea washes. It is of the size of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways; some kill it, after they have drawn it out of the shell, then press it with a knife from head to tail, separate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the rest. When this operation, after being repeated on several snails, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be dyed is dipped in it, and the process is finished. The colour, which is at first of the whiteness of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not of a purple colour till the thread is dry. Those who disapprove this method, draw the fish partly out of its shell, and squeezing it make it yield a fluid which serves for dying: they repeat this operation four times at different intervals, but always with less success. If they continue it, the fish dies, by their destroying that which constitutes the first principle of its life, and which it is no longer able to renew. No colour at present known, can be compared to this of which we are speaking, either as to lustre, liveliness, or duration; it succeeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or silk.

BESIDES this object of curiosity, Guayaquil furnishes the inland country of the empire with oxen, mules, salt, and salt fish; it supplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cocoa, but Peru with but little, as there they generally prefer the herb of Paraguay. It is the universal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might, partly,

partly, become that of the mother country. We know no country on the globe that equally abounds in wood for ship building and masts, either as to quality or quantity. Hemp and pitch, of which it is destitute, might easily be furnished by Chili and Guatimala.

BUT what renders Guayaquil still more considerable, is the advantage it possesses of being the necessary mart and bond of communication between the mountains of Peru and its vallies, with Panama and with Mexico. All the goods which these countries exchange, pass through the hands of its merchants. The largest vessels stop at the harbour of the island of Puna, which is situated at the entrance of the gulf, and others go up the river about forty leagues.

NOTWITHSTANDING so many sources of prosperity, the people of Guayaquil, whose numbers amount to twenty thousand souls, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have been successively overturned nine times by fires, which they have ascribed to the discontentedness of the negroes, and by pirates, who have twice sacked the town. Those fortunes, which have been acquired since these fatal æras, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains incessant for six months; where dangerous and noisome insects do not allow any tranquillity; where distempers of the most opposite degrees of temperature appear to be united; where one lives in the perpetual dread of losing one's sight, such a climate is by no means proper to fix the residence of its inhabitants. Such persons are only seen here, as have not acquired estates sufficient to enable them to remove elsewhere, and spend their days in indolence and pleasure. A taste, which predominates in the empire, induces the most opulent to reside at Lima.

THIS capital of Peru, so celebrated in all parts of the world, is situated at two leagues from the sea, in a



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delicious plain, at about an equal distance from the equator and the southern tropic, to unite as it were all the riches and delights of South America. The prospect from it on one side extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a distance of thirty leagues as far as the Cordeleras. The soil of its territory is nothing but a heap of flints, which the sea has undoubtedly in a series of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the surface, which the spring water, that is every where found on digging, hath brought from the mountains. It is in vain that the Spaniards would attribute the origin of these waters to their being filtrated from the sea; the theory of the globe and its natural construction, testify against the truth of this opinion, which all experiments besides confirm to be false.

SUGAR canes, incredible multitudes of olives, some vines, artificial meads, pastures full of salt which give mutton an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. A sea replete with fish contributes its stores to render provisions plentiful at a moderate price. Crops of wheat and barley formerly augmented this variety of blessings; but an earthquake, about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. After forty years of sterility, the husbandman seeing the soil improved, was disposed to resume his former occupations. Chili, which had an exclusive privilege of furnishing Lima with provisions, opposed the cultivation of its territory, and the metropolis of Spain did not allow that of Peru to support itself again by its own productions till 1750.

LIMA, founded more than two centuries ago, and built by the destroyers of Peru, was overturned at different times by eleven earthquakes. The twelfth, which happened

happened on the 28th of October, 1746, in three minutes time ingulphed the town, its harbour of Callao, all the vessels belonging to the coast, with fifteen hundred millions, (65,625,000*l.*) as it is reported, of silver, either coined, worked, or in ingots. Those who had for a long time been sunk as it were into a lethargy, have been awakened by this violent concussion. New activity, new emulation, have been productive of labour and industry. Lima, though less wealthy, is at present more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates presented to the view of the duke of Palata on his entering, streets paved with silver.

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THESE streets now are only regular, with neat houses and public buildings which display skill and taste. The water of the river which washes its walls, has been collected and dispersed for the convenience of the citizens, the ornament of gardens and the fertility of the fields.

BUT these walls are defective from the very solidity of their foundations. At the distance of some leagues from Lima we see some houses that were formerly built, that were but just erected on the surface of the earth without any cement, which however have resisted those assaults and convulsions that have overturned the deep-laid edifices of the Spaniards. The natives of the country, when they saw the foundations dug, and then built with mortar, said that their tyrants dug graves for themselves. Perhaps, it was some consolation to the wretchedness of the conquered, to foresee that the earth itself would take its revenge of its depopulators; but in this respect two centuries of chastisement have not reformed them. The pleasure of having commodious houses, or the vanity of raising spacious ones, still triumphs over the danger of their being crushed to pieces.

THE scourges of nature, which gave occasion to the introduction of the arts into Lima, have produced no

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happy revolution in the manners of its inhabitants. That superstition which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, at Peru holds two sceptres in her hand; one of gold, for the usurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for its enslaved and pillaged inhabitants. The scapulary and the rosary, are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards. It is on the form and colour of these kinds of talismans, that the populace and the grandees found the prosperity of their undertakings, the success of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their salvation. The religious habit assumed in the last moments, constitutes the security of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this cloathing, which is so formidable to the devil, he will not dare to descend into their graves, and seize upon their souls. If their ashes repose near the altar, they hope to partake of the sacrifices and prayers of the priests, much more than the poor and the slaves. After such fatal prejudices, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which secure their happiness in this world, and the next. The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promise of eternal life, convey over to the monks a fortune, which they can no longer enjoy; and families are disappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honesty or fraud, by legacies which go to enrich men who have found the secret of escaping poverty, by devoting themselves to it. Thus it is that the order of sentiments, ideas, and things is subverted; and the children of opulent parents are condemned to a forced misery by the pious rapacity of a host of voluntary mendicants. The French, Dutch, and English lose their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole universe: and such is the madness of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houses of Peru

Peru belongs to the priesthood, or depends on them with regard to rent. The institution of Monkish orders, has done at Peru what the law of the *Vacuf* will do sooner or later at Constantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to secure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it by leaving it to a monastery from the dread of being damned. The means are a little different, but in the end, the effect is the same. In both countries, the church is the gulf, in which all the riches are absorbed, and these Castilians, who were heretofore so formidable, shrink before superstition, as Asiatic slaves do in the presence of their despot.

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If we were to judge of the Creoles from these extravagancies, we should be tempted to believe them to be totally stupid; but we should be mistaken. The inhabitants of the valleys have some degree of penetration, and those of the mountains are not destitute of it. Both deem themselves very much superior to the Spanish Europeans, whom they regard as *cavallos*, that is to say brutes.

THEY possess more understanding than courage. All these people, though dissatisfied with government, are alike submissive to it. Men every where forget their numbers and their strength. There, even the very name of royal officers is formidable; and four soldiers, dispatched by the viceroy, make whole towns tremble at the distance of four hundred leagues from the capital.

THIS timidity in a Peruvian, is the cause or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. The majority of the inhabitants marry behind the church, that is their expression, which signifies living in a state of concubinage. If the children, who issue from this commerce, are ac-

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knowledge by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no stain. The bishops anathematize every year at Easter, those persons who are united in these illicit bonds. But what power have these vain terrors over love, which is sanctified by custom, against the toleration or example of ecclesiastics of the second order, and against the climate, which is continually contending and at last proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppose their influence?

THE charms of the Peruvian women are superior to the terror which the spiritual arms of Rome inspire. The majority of them, especially the women of Lima, have eyes sparkling with vivacity, a fair skin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of sprightliness and life, and a slender and well-formed shape, which is very alluring. But that which has a greater effect on the men, is the smallness of a pretty foot, which in their infancy is fashioned to this diminutiveness by strait shoes. They turn away from the large feet of the Spanish women to admire those of a Peruvian, who to the artifice of generally concealing them, adds the happy address of sometimes discovering them.

To these very small feet we may add long tresses, which might serve as a veil to modesty, on account of their thickness and colour, and their natural disposition to grow thick and long. The Lima women dress some of their hair very high on their head, but the rest they suffer to fall on their shoulders in the form of ringlets, without buckling or curling it. They are so jealous of preserving it in its own natural beauty, that they do not put the least additional ornament to it. Pearls and diamonds are reserved for ear rings, for large necklaces, for bracelets, for rings, for a plate of gold suspended on the centre of the bosom by a ribband which goes round the body. A woman that has no titles, and is not ennobled, seldom goes out full dressed, but she displays

in jewels the value from an hundred to an hundred and fifty thousand livres; (on an average about 5,500*l.*) yet it is the fashion to affect an indifference for these trifles. It is necessary that a woman should lose, or let fall, some of them without taking notice of it, that she should always have some jewel to replace or to add.

BUT what seduces the eyes and raises the most emotion, is a dress which leaves the bosom and the shoulders bare, and only descends to half way the leg. From thence to the ankle falls a lace, through which are seen the ends of garters embroidered with gold or silver, and ornamented with pearls. The linen, the petticoat, the habit, all is loaded with the finest lace. A woman seldom appears in public without being attended with three or four slaves, most of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their mistresses.

THESE ladies are fond of perfumes. They are never without amber, they scent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their nosegays, as if there were something wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With these they adorn their sleeves, and sometimes their hair, like shepherdesses. In the great square of Lima, where there are every day sold flowers, to the amount of sixteen or twenty thousand livres, (near 800*l.* on an average), ladies are seen in gilt calashes, purchasing what is most rare without regard to the price, and men in crowds adoring and contemplating what nature has formed most charming to embellish and enchant the dream of life.

WHERE can these delights be enjoyed more than at Peru? It is the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other pleasures the women of Lima love music, of which they are extravagantly

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vagantly fond. Nothing is heard on every side but singing and concerts of vocal and instrumental music. They have frequent balls. They dance here with surprising lightness, but they neglect the graces of the arms to attend to the agility of the feet, and especially to the inflections of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuousness, as the expression of the countenance, is the true accompaniment of dancing. As the arms conspire to give grace to the attitude, so the ideas of pleasures are still more strongly expressed by the body. In countries, where these sensations are most lively, dancing will agitate the feet and the body more than the arms.

SUCH are the pleasures which the women taste and diffuse at Lima. Among many expedients to heighten and preserve their charms, they have a custom which it were to be wished that they would consent to abandon, which is the use of *limpion*. They give this name to small rolls of tobacco, four inches long and nine inches in diameter, wrapped in the whitest thread, from which the tobacco is drawn out as it is used. The ladies only put the end of the limpion to their mouth, and chew it for a moment.

THIS mastication is particularly used in public assemblies, where women receive company. Here is a drawing room, along one side of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or six feet broad; it is here that carelessly seated, and with crossed legs on carpets and superb cushions, they pass whole days without changing their posture even to eat; they use little tables, placed before them, for any work with which they choose to amuse themselves. The men, whom they admit to their conversation, sit in elbow chairs, unless their adorers from greater intimacy, are permitted to descend into the alcove, which is, as it were, the sanctuary of worship and of the idol. Yet these goddesses love rather to be affable than haughty;

haughty; and, banishing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and sing and dance when they are desired. BOOK  
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THEIR husbands are not the persons who are the chief objects of their complaisance. As the greatest part of the most considerable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the great heiresses are reserved for Europeans, who come over into America. The advantage which these have of making the fortunes of their husbands, naturally prompts them to domineer: but let them have the sway of which they are so jealous, and they will prove constantly faithful. So particularly is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

THE manners of the Mestees, and of the free Mulattoes, who compose the greatest part of the inhabitants of Lima, and who retain the arts in their hands, hardly differ from the manners of the Spaniards. The habit they have contracted of sleeping after dinner, and reposing one part of the day, makes them set a greater price upon their labour than they ought. The time they devote to labour must procure them the conveniences as well as the luxuries of life, which in general are carried very far. Their wives in particular value themselves, on the magnificence of their furniture and dress. They never go out but in carriages, and imitate the ladies of the first rank even with regard to their shoes. They habituate themselves to press their feet very tight in order to hide their natural size, which is seldom corrected by this management. But though they carry their imitation so far as to form circles and assemblies, as they do, yet they never attain a perfect resemblance to them. Their husbands are still further removed from the polite manners of the European Spaniards or the Creole, though there is but little real merit or genius in copying them. They are rude, haughty, and troublesome;



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some ; but these faults which are irksome in society, are hardly carried to such excesses or violences as to disturb the public order.

THE whole commerce at Lima is exercised by the Spaniards, the number of whom is from fifteen to sixteen thousand. The capitals they employ in trade are immense. There are not in reality more than ten or twelve houses whose capital exceeds two millions; (87,500*l.*) but a million (43,750*l.*) is very common, and five hundred thousand livres (21,875*l.*) still more so. The desire of enjoying, the vanity of making an appearance, the passion of ornamenting churches, prevent the fortunes of the Creoles from advancing as high as the nature of things would admit. The European Spaniards, who are solely occupied in pursuing the plan of returning to their country, shew that with industry and oeconomy, people may very soon enrich themselves. Merchants, who are in want of assistance, are sure to find it in the posterity of the conquerors of Peru. If some of these distinguished families have perpetuated their splendor by entailing their estates upon their eldest sons, and by the revenues alone of their estates, the greatest part have only supported it by taking part in commercial transactions. A species of industry which is so honourable to human nature, whose understanding, power, and activity it enlarges, has never been deemed to derogate from their nobility; and in this point alone, they have abandoned the false and romantic ideas of their ancestors. These means joined to the immense deposits which come from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the center of all the transactions which the provinces of Peru are continually carrying on either among themselves, or with Mexico and Chili, or with the mother country.

Communi-  
cation of  
Peru with  
Europe.

THE straits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this last connection. The length of the passage,

sage, the terror inspired by stormy and almost unknown seas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impossibility of finding an asylum in case of unhappy accidents; and other considerations, perhaps, turned all their views towards Panama.

THIS town, which has been the gate through which they had entered into Peru, had risen to great prosperity, when in 1670 it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous spot, at the distance of four or five miles from the first. Its harbour, called Perico, is very secure. It is formed by an archipelago consisting of forty eight small islands, and is capable of containing the largest fleets.

THIS place, a little while after it was founded, became the capital of the kingdom of Terra Firma. Some hopes were at first entertained from the three provinces of Panama, Darien, and Veragua, which composed it; but this prosperity vanished like lightning. The savages of Darien recovered their independence; and the mines of the two other provinces were found to be neither sufficiently abundant, nor of an alloy good enough, to make it worth while to work them. Five or six small boroughs, in which are seen some Europeans quite naked and a very small number of Indians, who have come to reside there, form the whole of this state, which the Spaniards are not ashamed of honouring with the great name of kingdom. It is in general barren and unwholesome, and contributes nothing to trade but pearls.

THE pearl fishery is carried on in the islands of the gulf. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their negroes in it, who are good swimmers. These slaves plunge and replunge in the sea in search of pearls, till this exercise has exhausted their strength or their spirits.

EVERY negro is obliged to deliver a fixed number of oysters. Those, in which there are no pearls, and those, in

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in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the stipulated obligation, is considered as his indisputable property: he may sell it to whom he pleases; but commonly he cedes it to his master at a moderate price.

SEA monsters, which abound more about the islands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coasts, render this fishing dangerous. Some of these devour the divers in an instant. The manatee, which derives its name from its figure, surrounds them, rolls them under its body, and suffocates them. In order to defend themselves against such enemies, every fisher is armed with a poinard: the moment he perceives any of these voracious fish, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithstanding this, there are always some fishermen destroyed, and a great number crippled.

THE pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their size and figure: these were formerly sold in Europe. Since art has imitated them, and the passion for diamonds has entirely superseded or prodigiously diminished the use of them, they have found a new mart, more advantageous than the first. They are carried to Peru, where they are in great estimation.

THIS branch of trade has however infinitely less contributed to give reputation to Panama, than the advantage which it hath long enjoyed of being the mart of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are destined for the old world. These riches, which are brought hither by a small fleet, were carried, some on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is situated on the northern coast of the isthmus which separate the two seas.

THOUGH the situation of this town was surveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built  
till

till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain which environs the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts which Admiral Vernon destroyed in 1740, seems to afford an entrance of six hundred toises broad; but it is so straitened by rocks that are between wind and water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Vessels are towed into it, because they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect security.

THE intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is so notorious, that it has been named the grave of the Spaniards. More than once the galleons have been left here, because they had lost in this place the greatest part of their crew. The English who blockaded this place in 1726, would not have been able to have regained Jamaica, if they had waited some days longer. The inhabitants themselves do not live long, and have all a weak constitution. It is rather a disgrace to be obliged to reside here. Some negroes and mulattoes are to be found here, with a small number of white people, fixed by the employments that the government intrusts to them. The garrison itself, though only consisting of an hundred and fifty men, do not continue here more than three months together. Till the beginning of the present century no woman durst lie-in here: she would have deemed it devoting both her children and herself to certain death. It is an established fact, that the domestic animals of Europe which have prodigiously multiplied in all the parts of the new world, lose their fruitfulness on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that now are there, notwithstanding the abundance of pastures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded. The plants that are transplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, moisture, and the vapours are excessive and continual, have never prospered.

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prospered. It would take up too much time to recount all the evils experienced here, it would be difficult to assign the causes of them, and, perhaps, impossible to point out the remedy.

THESE inconveniences prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at first the center of the richest commerce that ever existed. Whilst the riches of the new world arrived there to be exchanged for the productions of the old, the vessels that sailed from Spain, and known by the name of galleons, came hither laden with all the articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

THE deputies for transacting this commerce on both sides, regulated on board the admiral ship the price of goods, under the inspection of the commander of the squadron and the president of Panama. The estimation was not adjusted by the intrinsic value of each article, but by its scarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents consisted in forming their combinations so judiciously, that the cargo imported from Europe should absorb all the treasures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this case only, the Spanish merchants were allowed to go and traffic in the South Sea, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the metropolis for their purchases.

As soon as the prices were settled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult, it was carried on with the utmost frankness. Exchanges were made with so much honesty, that they never opened their chests of piastres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found more than once sacks of gold mixed among sacks of silver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. All was exactly restored before the

the departure of the galleons, or on their return. There only happened in 1654 an event, which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe that all the piaftres that were received at the laft fair, had a fifth of alloy. The lofs was borne by the Spanifh merchants; but as the treafurer of the mint at Lima was known to be the author of this mifdemeanor, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no difgrace.

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THE fair, the duration of which on account of the noxious qualities of the air was limited to forty days, was regularly held. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons muft have been difpatched for Europe every year, or at the lateft every eighteen months; and twelve fleets that failed from the fourth of Auguft 1628 to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was not ftrictly obferved. They came back at the end of eleven, ten, and fometimes even eight months, with an hundred millions (4,375,000*l.*) and more, in gold, filver, and goods.

THIS prosperity continued without interruption to the middle of the feventeenth century. After the lofs of Jamaica, a confiderable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The facking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the Englifh pirate, was attended with ftill more fatal confequences. Peru, which fent thither its ftock before-hand, now no longer tranfmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons, at Carthagena. Delays, uncertainty, diftruft, were the confequences of this change. The fairs were not much frequented, and fmuggling increafed.

SPAIN. was threatened with a much greater evil. The Scots in 1690 landed twelve hundred men in the gulf of Darien. Their defign was to gain the confidence of the favages, whom the Caftilians had not been able to fubdue, to arm them againft a nation which they detefted, to form a fettlement on their ter-

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ritory, to break off the communication of Carthagea with Porto Bello, to intercept the galleons, and to unite their forces with those of Jamaica, in order to acquire a decisive superiority in this part of the new world.

THIS plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, displeased Louis XIV, who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to frustrate its designs : it displeased the Dutch, who had reason to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the smuggling trade, which they monopolized in these latitudes : it was also disagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiscate the effects of the subjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was more particularly alarming to the English, who foresaw, that their colonists would abandon their old plantations, to go and reside on a territory teeming with gold ; and that Scotland growing rich, would emerge from that state of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and universal opposition determined King William to revoke a permission, which his favourites had extorted from him. He moreover prohibited all his colonies in the new world from furnishing either arms, provisions, or ammunition to a rising settlement, whose ruin would insure the public tranquillity. Thus was stifled in its infancy a colony, whose greatness did not appear to be remote, and must one day have been very considerable.

THE Spaniards had scarce time to rejoice at this happy event. The elevation of a prince of France to the throne of Charles the V. kindled a general war ; and at the commencement of the first hostilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impracticability of gaining Cadiz had forced them to take shelter. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello, was then totally interrupted ; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular contractions with strangers.

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THE peace of Utrecht, which seemed to promise a termination of these troubles, only served to increase them. Philip V. who was forced to submit, was compelled to withdraw the treaty of Asiento from the French, who being unsuccessful in the whole course of the war, and at that time little acquainted with maritime commerce, had enjoyed this privilege from 1702, without deriving any considerable benefit from it. The French were succeeded by the English.

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THE South Sea company, who enjoyed an exclusive privilege, were to furnish four thousand eight hundred Africans, and to pay the king of Spain 160 livres (7*l*.) a head for every negro. They were obliged to give only half for those they should import above this number, during the twenty-five first years of the stipulation. In the five last, they were prohibited to import beyond what was specified in the contract.

THEY were permitted to ship from Europe, on board vessels of an hundred and fifty tons burthen, in the north sea, cloaths, medicines, provisions, and equipment for their slaves, factors, and ships. They could sell all these goods to Spanish vessels who might have occasion for them to return.

ON account of the distance, the company was authorized to build houses on the river of Plata, to form lands in the neighbourhood of their factories, and get them cultivated by negroes or natives; that is to say, by means of this mart engross the whole commerce of Chili and Paraguay.

THEY had not less freedom with regard to the South Sea. They were permitted to freight at Panama, and in all the other ports on this coast, vessels of four hundred tons burthen, to convey their negroes to all the coasts of Peru, to equip them as they pleased, to nominate the commanders of them, to bring back the pro-



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duce of their sales in provisions, in gold, or in silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. They might send to Porto-Bello, and convey from thence to Panama, every thing that was necessary for the fitting out of the ships they should send.

THOUGH these concessions, must have been very disagreeable to Spain, the English knew how to avail themselves of their superiority, and compelled her to a still more painful submission. They obtained the permission of sending every year a vessel laden with merchandise to the fair of Porto-Bello. It always arrived with a thousand tons burthen, instead of five hundred which it was allowed to carry. It was neither furnished with water, nor provisions. Four or five vessels which followed it, supplied its wants; and frequently substituted goods in the place of such as had been sold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were also greatly detrimented by every thing that the English poured into their ports where they carried negroes. At last, after the expedition of 1737, it was impossible to support this commerce any longer, and a stop was put to those famous fairs envied by all nations, though they might be regarded as the common treasure of all people. From that æra, Panama and Porto-Bello have astonishingly declined. These two towns now only serve as a passage to the negroes that are carried into the South Sea, and to some other inconsiderable branches of a decaying traffic. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known that Magellan in 1520. discovered the famous strait that bears his name, and which separates the extremity of South America from Terra del Fuego. This strait is computed to be near an hundred and ten leagues long, and in some places less than a league broad. Though it was for a long time the only passage known into the South Sea, the dangers incur-  
red

red there caused it almost to be forgotten. The boldness of Drake the celebrated navigator, who by this way carried his ravages on the coasts of Peru, determined the Spaniards in 1582 to form at the straits of Magellan, a settlement, destined to become the key of this part of the new world. This new colony perished almost entirely for want of provisions. Three years after, Fernando Gomez only was left there, who was brought back into Europe by the English pirate Thomas Cavendish.

THE loss of this colony, was not so great an evil as it was apprehended to be. The straits of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of those pirates who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. Some bold navigators having doubled Cape Horn; this became afterwards the way which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed passing into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. experienced to furnish his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing which they then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred per cent. These enormous profits were not continued. The competition at last was so considerable, the goods fell into such disrepute that it was impossible to sell them, and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-establishing itself; and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid in 1718 took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

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At this time the expeditions to the fourth sea by Cape Horn were discontinued. The Spaniards themselves resumed them in 1740 with tolerable advantage. They flattered themselves that at the expiration of the treaty of Asiento, that of Peru would resume its former activity. They must have been undeceived since that time. The colony has not furnished a greater quantity of bark, of the wool of the Vicuna, and cocos, than before, and the mines proved to be so considerably diminished, that the annual returns in gold and silver did not exceed seventeen millions. (near 744,000*l*.) There was no part even of this sum for government; because though the same duties are established at Peru as in Mexico and all the other settlements, the expences of administration have swallowed up the whole.

General  
remarks  
on new  
Grenada,  
which was  
detached  
from Peru.

THINGS were not conducted with more knowledge, probity, and oeconomy in the vice-royalty of new Grenada, which was separated from that of Peru. This new dominion, which was formed in 1718, extends along the south sea from Panama to the gulph of Guayaquil; along the north sea from Mexico to the river Oroonoko, and goes so far back by land, that it comprehends an immense territory.

THE numerous provinces, that compose this great government, are covered with immense forests, separated by high mountains, and abounding with uncultivated lands. These vast regions have not been entirely subdued. Here savages are to be met with in all parts, who have no other passion but that of surprising and massacring the Spaniards. Such even of the Indians who have been forced to undergo the yoke, have vowed an implacable hatred against their tyrants. Their first concern is to perpetuate this animosity in their family. They incessantly call to their children's remembrance the calamities which marked the first arrival of the

the destroyers of the new world, and that sanguinary spirit which hath never ceased to animate their successors.

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At the time of the conquest, this country was inhabited by an infinite number of nations that were not populous, the greatest part of whom led a wandering life, and were most of them ferocious and indolent. The men here were more active, the women more beautiful and fair than in the neighbouring climates. The country being at a considerable distance from any of the great rivers, twenty, thirty and forty leagues may sometimes be crossed without meeting with a hut. Since the time of the invasion, this scanty population hath scarce suffered any diminution; because there has been no destructive labour carried on there, and that the subjected people have not been condemned to work in the mines. It is seldom that any thing is exacted from them besides the tribute imposed. Some pay this in provisions; others in gold, which they find in the torrents or rivers. There are others who fulfil this kind of obligation from the profits they make on certain European goods, which they sell to the Indians who have not yet been subdued.

THE country of Quito, which hath been incorporated with what is called the new Kingdom, is the best known and the most agreeable part of it. Nothing, for instance, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordelera mountains.

Remarks  
on the  
country of  
Quito.

In the centre of the torrid zone, immediately under the equator, all the beauties of spring are incessantly enjoyed. The mildness of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thousand delights in a country which the sun surrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the charge of the seasons occasions sensations too much

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opposite not be inconvenient from that very inequality. Nature appears to have combined under the line that covers so many seas and so little land, a multitude of circumstances which conspire to moderate the ardour of the sun; these are the elevation of the globe in this summit of its sphere; the vicinity of mountains of immense height and extent, and always covered with snows; and continual winds which refresh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. The whole universe would not afford a more agreeable retreat than the territory of Quito, if so many advantages were not counterbalanced by some inconveniences.

At one or two o'clock after noon, the time when the morning, which is almost always very fine, ends, the vapours begin to rise, and the sky is covered with gloomy clouds which are changed into storms. Then the whole atmosphere is illuminated, and appears to be set on fire by lightening: the thunder makes the mountains resound with a terrible noise. To these may be added dreadful earthquakes which sometimes happen: at other times rain or sunshine prevails without intermission for fifteen days together; and then there is an universal consternation. The excess of moisture spoils what is sown, and drought produces dangerous diseases.

BUT excepting these unhappy accidents, which are very rare, the climate of Quito is one of the most wholesome. The air is generally so pure, that those nauseous insects are there unknown which distress the greatest part of the provinces of America. Though profligacy and negligence render venereal complaints here almost general, the people suffer very little from them. Those who have inherited this contagious distemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

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THE fertility of the soil answers to the mildness of the climate. The moisture and the action of the sun, being continual and always sufficient to unfold and strengthen the shoots, the agreeable picture of the three most beautiful seasons of the year are continually presented to the eye. In proportion as the grass withers, fresh grass shoots up; and the enamel of the meadows, is hardly past, but it springs up again. The trees are incessantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers; and always laden with fruit, whose colour, form and beauty are at once exhibited in all their several progressive states from their first appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the same progression of fertility that is always renewing. At one view we may behold the new sown seed springing up, some that is grown larger and spiked with ears, some turning yellow, and some under the reapers sickle. The whole year is passed in sowing and reaping, within the compass of the same field, or the same horizon. This constant variety depends on the situation of the mountains, hillocks, plains, and vallies.

THIS plenty of corn, maize, sugar, flocks, and all provisions, and the low price at which the impossibility of exporting them necessarily keeps them, has sunk the whole province, especially the capital in the greatest idleness and disorder.

QUITO, which was conquered by the Spaniards in 1534, and is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pitchincha in the Cordeleras, may have fifty thousand inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are abandoned to shameful and habitual debauchery. Though such manners are common in all the Spanish colonies, they have not been carried in any other spot to the same excess of corruption. Among the various passions, which have there been indulged with the most

**BOOK** most licentious freedom, that of gaming has always  
**III.** been most destructive in its consequences.

THOUGH it is prohibited by law to carry a poniard, yet the mestees, free negroes, or slaves, are seldom without one. Thus it is, that every week, and almost every day, is marked by assassination. The abuse of those asylums, which secure impunity to such horrid acts, is the principal cause of these disorders. It is to be hoped that the excess of the evil will point out the necessity of a remedy.

THE metropolis continually imputed to this depravity of manners, the ruin of those gold and silver mines that were opened at the time of the conquest, and the neglect of those that have been since gradually discovered. The province, it is asserted, might apply to this kind of industry with so much the more success, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other country of the new world, and derives from itself prodigious plenty of excellent provisions, which in other parts must be fetched from a great distance, and at a very considerable expence. Then this country, formerly so opulent, might again become what it once was, and resume a lustre which prejudice and the turn of the place, will always prevent its deriving from its own agriculture and manufactures.

THE Spaniards born at Quito, and those that are sent from Europe to take the administration of it, find these reproaches ill founded. They generally think that the mines of this province are not in sufficient abundance to defray the charge of working them. We cannot pretend to decide this point. Yet if we only reflect on the ardour that these conquerors manifested for this species of riches, which without any labour on their part cost them nothing but the blood of those who were in possession of it, we may venture to conclude that nothing but an entire impossibility, founded on experience,

ence, could determine this nation to deny itself the pursuit of its natural inclinations, and resist the urgent sollicitations of the metropolis.

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THE province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines, by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloth, light stuffs, and baize is made here. Exclusive of its home consumption, it hath now annually exported for a long time to the amount of five or six millions of livres. (on an average about 240,000*l*.) With this assistance it has been enabled to pay for the wines, brandies, and oils, that it was never allowed to draw from its own territory; for the dried and salted fish which was brought from the coasts; for the soap which is made at Truxillo from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron used in all their works of agriculture; and for all those objects of luxury it was supplied with from the old world. This traffic has diminished more than one half. At all times the inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dressing in European cloth, known throughout all America by the name of the cloth of Castille. This taste is become general since the register ships have been substituted to the galleons. The facility of being continually supplied with these stuffs, and of getting them at a lower price, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which has been reduced to extreme wretchedness.

THE country will never emerge from this languishing condition by its connections with Spain, to which it furnishes nothing but bark. The tree, which yields this famous remedy, is seldom more than two toises and a half high; its trunk and branches are of a proportional thickness: it grows in forests promiscuously amongst many other plants, and is propagated by seeds which fall to the ground of themselves. The only  
valuable



**B O O K** valuable part of it is its bark, which is no otherwise  
**III.** prepared than by drying it. The thickest was always  
 preferred till some accurate experiments made in England and frequently repeated, have shewn that the thinnest bark was the most efficacious.

It was long believed that the bark tree was only found on the territory of Loxa, a town that was founded in 1546 by captain Alonso de Mercadillo. That which was in the highest estimation grew two leagues to the south of this place on the mountain of Cajanuma; and it is not more than fifty years ago, that some merchants endeavoured to prove by certificates, that the bark which they sold came from this famous place. This remedy has lately been discovered in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuença, and some other countries, all in the province of Quito.

THE bark was known at Rome in 1639. The je-suits, who had brought it thither, distributed it gratis to the poor, and sold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, physician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the salutary effects of it, established it in Spain at an hundred crowns a pound. (about 13*l*.) This remedy soon acquired great reputation, which it maintained, till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to supply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that which was so much in vogue. This fraud diminished the confidence that had been placed in the bark, and consequently its price. The measures, which the court of Madrid employed to remedy so dangerous an imposition, were not entirely successful. The late discoveries must have rendered this production so common, that it does not appear probable that they continue to adulterate it.

It

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country very antiently knew the use of the bark. It is said, that they infused it a whole day in water, and gave the liquor to a sick man to drink without the grounds. The fear of revealing so salutary a remedy to the Spaniards their tyrants, made them renounce it themselves. They had so thoroughly lost the remembrance of it, that they imagined it was used in Europe only for dying. Jussieu, a French botanist, informed them of the contrary about thirty years ago. He taught them to distinguish the middling sort of bark from the good, and from the most excellent of its kind; and accustomed them to have recourse, as we have, to its specific virtue in intermitting fevers.

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THESE people have not paid the same attention to the advices of intelligent persons who were desirous of persuading them to cultivate cochineal. This is found, in certain countries of the province, similar in every respect to the cochineal of New Spain. It is used in the manufactures of Loxa and Cuença, to which circumstance may be ascribed the superiority of their stuffs and carpets to those of Quito, where it is not used. If the Spaniards can ever be roused from their inactivity to pursue this species of industry, they will open to themselves a new branch of commerce with Europe which they may enlarge, if they please, by the produce of cinnamon.

TOWARDS the eastern side of the Cordeleras, are situated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were subdued in 1559, and annexed to the province of Quito. There are only some scattered and miserable villages there. The first of these countries was never of any use to the metropolis; and the second hath ceased to be so, from the time when the insurrection of the Indians occasioned the rich mines, which they had opened there, to be abandoned. Both produce cinnamon, which

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which is in common use in Peru, and which might be much further extended, if they would bestow proper attention upon the cultivation of it.

TILL the province of Quito shall exert its own natural advantages, the riches of New Grenada are limited to the metals of Popayan and Chaco, two provinces that were conquered in 1536. The barrenness of these countries at first induced them to judge unfavourably of their acquisition; but these important discoveries soon stamped a value on them. They found gold mines, by so much the more valuable, as the working of them is neither expensive, difficult, nor hazardous.

THE mineral is scattered and mixed with the earth and gravel: this mixture is carried into a large reservoir, where it is pounded till the lightest parts escape from the reservoir, by a pipe which serves to carry off the water. Then the workmen take the heavy matter, that is to say, the sand and metal which remain at the bottom, and put them into wooden buckets which they turn circularly by a quick and uniform motion. They change the water, and continue to separate the light matter from the heavy. At last there remains at the bottom of these tubs nothing but gold cleared of all the extraneous bodies with which it had been mixed. It is generally found in dust; sometimes in grains of different sizes. The same operation is repeated in the second and third reservoirs, that are placed under the first to receive the light parts of the gold that may have been carried away from the first basin by the running of the water. Some of the workmen are employed in working it, while others dig up the earth and carry it away. The labour is never interrupted.

THESE works are carried on by about eight thousand blacks. These slaves, who are never employed in mines of any depth, because the cold there kills them, are reserved for those mines which are near the surface of the earth.

earth. They may every where be employed without endangering their life: they are preferred to the Indians who have less capacity and strength than them, and especially less of that good will which gives strength and capacity. It is universally the custom in Popayan and Chaco, that they deliver every day to their master a certain portion of gold; what they can collect above this quantity belongs to themselves, as well as what they find on those days that are consecrated to religion and rest, on which they are the masters of their leisure time, on condition that during the festival they maintain themselves. This agreement puts the most laborious, the most frugal, and the most happy among them in a condition of purchasing sooner or later their liberty. Then they intermix in marriage with the Spaniards. The two nations form only one and the same people.

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THE produce of their industry is carried to Santa Fè of Bogota, which was built in 1536 by Gonzalvo Ximenes de Queseda in a place where he arrived from the north sea by the river of Magdalena, precisely at the same time as Sebastian de Benalcazar came there, from Popayan. Some violent contest immediately arose to settle the boundaries between these two conquerors, which terminated in favour of Queseda. The city which he had built became the capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, where in process of time were formed the towns of Marequita, Pampeluna, Tocayma, and some others less considerable.

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on Santa  
Fè.

THIS colony was indebted for its first prosperity to the emerald, a precious stone, which is transparent and of a green colour, and which has no greater hardness than the rock crystal.

SOME countries of Europe furnish emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little estimation.

It was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the East Indies, and it is on this account

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count that they have called them oriental. This opinion has been rejected, since it has been found impossible to tell the places whence they were found. It is now certain that Asia has never sold us any of these jewels except what she herself had received from the new world.

THESE beautiful emeralds belong certainly to America alone. The first conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from a persuasion they had that they would not break if they were fine. This loss became the more sensibly felt through the impossibility of discovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn so much treasure. The mountains of New Grenada at last filled up this void; they furnished a great quantity of emeralds which were carried to Europe, from whence they were diffused throughout the whole world.

THE Spanish historians speak with enthusiasm of the emeralds and metals which this colony originally furnished. Some make the produce amount to sums which would even astonish persons who have the greatest propensity to the marvellous. Exaggeration perhaps has never been carried so far. If the fabulous reports that were raised, had only been approaching to the truth, the colonists would have multiplied in proportion to their riches, as it had happened in all the settlements that possess indisputable opulence. This populousness does not exist, and no æra can be alledged in which there were any remarkable emigrations.

LET this be as it may, these countries which are supposed formerly to have been so renowned, are fallen into the greatest obscurity: if Santa Fè has in some degree rescued itself from oblivion, it does not derive this advantage from its productions, which are reduced to a small quantity of tobacco of an indifferent quality that is disposed of in the inland country, to a little corn which serves to supply Carthagena with provision of  
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this kind, and to a small number of emeralds, and a little quantity of gold, furnished by the valley of Neyva. The attention still bestowed upon it is in consequence of the happiness it has of being the seat of government, the center of all business, and the mart of the riches of Popayan and Chaco.

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THESE riches are carried on mules five hundred leagues, and embarked at Honda on the river of Magdalena, upon small vessels. After a few days sailing they enter into a channel which was formed by nature, but enlarged about the middle of the last century, which brings them to Carthagena. In the seasons when this channel is without water, and through the negligence of government it will soon be without it in all seasons, the voyage is carried on upon the river, till they arrive at three days journey from this celebrated town, which they afterwards travel to by land.

THE place, where Carthagena is at present situated, was discovered in 1502 by Bastidas, who would have settled there, if he had not been repulsed by the savages. Several adventurers of his nation, who followed his footsteps, experienced the same resistance. At last Heredia appeared in 1527 with a force sufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled the town.

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on Cartha-  
gena.

THE prosperity of this settlement drew thither in 1544 some French pirates who pillaged it. In 1585 it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis took it and ransomed it in 1697. Admiral Vernon was obliged in 1741 to raise the siege of it, though he had undertaken it with twenty-five ships of the line, six fire ships, two bomb ketches, and as many land forces as were sufficient to conquer all America.

AFTER so many revolutions, Carthagena now subsists in splendour in a peninsula of sand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadest of which is not thirty-five toises. Its fortifica-

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tions are regular. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of tolerable height, on which they have built the citadel of St. Lazarus. In time of peace these works are defended by a garrison of between six and seven hundred men. The town is one of the best built, the most regular and best disposed of any in the new world. It may contain twenty-five thousand souls. Of this number the Spaniards form the sixth part, the negroes, Indians, and several races composed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

THIS mixture is more common at Carthagena, than in the other Spanish colonies. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually resorting to this place. In a country where nobody knows them, no citizen can venture to repose any confidence in their services; they are destined to subsist wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lye in the corner of a square, or at the gate of a church. If the afflictions they experienced in this miserable state, occasion some great disorder, they are commonly assisted by the free negro women, whose care and kindness they requite by marrying them. Such who have not the happiness of being in a situation dreadful enough to excite the compassion of the women, are obliged to retire to some village to live there by cultivating the ground, and reaping the fruit of their labours; which the haughty laziness of the inhabitants considers as the utmost ignominy. In reality, indolence is carried so far, that men and women that are wealthy seldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

Two celebrated Spaniards have judged the climate to be one of the principal causes of this inactivity. The heat is excessive and continual at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are incessantly pouring down from the

the month of May to November, have this peculiarity that they never cool the air, which is sometimes a little moderated in the dry season by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perspiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of sickly persons. Even when they are perfectly well, their motions partake of the softness of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifests itself even in their words, which are always uttered slowly and with a low voice. Those who come hither from Europe preserve their fresh complexions and plumpness three or four months. They afterwards lose both by falling into incessant sweats.

THIS state is the forerunner of an evil still more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that some persons have it from catching cold, others from indigestion. It manifests itself by a vomiting accompanied with so violent a delirium, that the patient must be bound, to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days. Those who have escaped this danger at first, run no risque for the future. Intelligent witnesses even assure us, that upon returning to Carthage after a long absence, they have nothing to fear.

THIS town and its territory exhibit the spectacle of a hideous leprosy, which indiscriminately attacks both natives and strangers. The philosophers, who have attempted to ascribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not considered that this distemper is unknown in the other countries of America, where this kind of food is not less common. In order to stop the contagion, they have founded an hospital in the country. All persons who are supposed to be attacked with it are shut up here, without distinction of sex, rank, or age. The benefit of so wise an establishment is lost through the



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avarice of the governors, who without being deterred by the danger of communication, suffer the poor to come in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the inclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there enjoys a little spot of ground that they mark out for him at his entrance. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully excites that passion, which is the strongest of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion, by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increase by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The wretchedness of beholding this ardent disease which runs in the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other disorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

If we were less acquainted with the negligent disposition of the Spaniards, we might persuade them to make an experiment which, probably, would be attended with success. There are some people in Africa that are situated nearly under the same latitude, who have a custom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expressed from the fruit of a tree that is like the palm. This oil is of a disagreeable smell, but has the salutary property of stopping the pores of the skin, and checking the sweats with the heat of the climate would render excessive, especially during three months of the year, in which a dreadful calm hangs over these countries. If a similar method were tried at Carthage, perhaps the leprosy might be restrained or even totally abolished. We know that those that are attacked with this disease, perspire no longer, and that their skin is hard and scaly. Would it

it be repugnant to the principles of sound philosophy, to attribute it to too copious a perspiration, which impoverishes the fibres of the skin, and renders them incapable of performing their functions. The use of an oil or grease fit to diminish this excessive perspiration, and at the same time prevents its total suppression, seems to be the method indicated by nature to prevent the calamity we are now speaking of.

NOTWITHSTANDING this distemper, notwithstanding the badness of the climate, notwithstanding many other inconveniencies, Spain hath always shewed a great predilection for Carthagena on account of its harbour, one of the best that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is less agitation there, than on the most calm river. The passage to it formerly was solely by the canal of Bocca Chica. This was so narrow, that only one vessel could pass, being defended by the cross batteries of forts erected on both sides of it. The English in 1741 having destroyed the fortifications that defended this passage, it was shut by the Spaniards. An antient canal was opened, which was disposed in such a manner that it will not be easy for an enemy's squadron to force it. This is the way by which all vessels now enter into the harbour.

AT the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, these vessels sailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return. In the first voyage, they deposited the merchandise that was necessary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the second. This arrangement displeased the merchants of Lima, who pretended that when they came back from the fair, they found all their country provided with the same things which they had been to fetch at a great distance. They

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petitioned, and they obtained that Carthagena should not be stocked till after Porto Bello.

By this restriction the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan and Quito; were reduced, either to draw at a great expence and with great hazard what they wanted from the fair itself, or to content themselves with the refuse of it. This arrangement, which continued several years, was extremely displeasing to them. They devised in 1730 a conciliating scheme, which seemed proper to reconcile the differences. It was agreed that things should be re-established on the old footing, but that at the arrival of the galleons, the traffic of European goods should cease between the two vice-royalties. Spain had not yet made sufficient progress in the knowledge of political oeconomy to be sensible how far such a regulation was contrary to her interest.

THE act of stopping the galleons made no change in this conduct. The vessels which successively came to Carthagena to supply New Grenada with provisions, do not annually carry away above five millions. (not quite 219,000*l*.) Those who know that there is more than double this sum coined in the mint of Santa Fè, the only money that exists in the country since that of Popayan was suppressed, and who cannot also be ignorant that all the gold which the mines produce cannot possibly be coined there, will be amazed at the smallness of these returns. Their surprize will cease, if they will but consider the quantity of gold that is fraudulently exported. Smuggling is carried on in several places on the coast. The riches of Chaco are chiefly conveyed away by the river of Atrato, which falls into the gulf of Darien, and those of Popayan by the different mouths of the Magdalena, which it is impossible to guard. Spain will never succeed in breaking these smuggling connections, unless she abandons her old maxims. A

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more rational system would not only retain in her hands the treasures she has lost, but would also give a new value to the only lands of the viceroyalty that are cultivated with emolument to the metropolis.

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BETWEEN the rivers of Magdalena and Oroonoko is a long series of coasts which occupy an immense space. These were discovered in 1499 by Ojeda, John de la Casas, and Americus Vesputius, who landed with four ships at a place which they called Venezuela, from the resemblance it appeared to them to have with Venice. The settlements which these adventurers and their followers attempted on the continent, were not formed with the same ease as those in the islands. The savages, who were accustomed to make war upon one another, resisted them with an opposition that was sometimes pretty obstinate. At last these small detached nations, which by their natural disposition or their state of war had rarely any fixed abode, took the resolution either of removing themselves far back into the inland countries or submitting.

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A CONSIDERABLE number of small towns were then built, the most famous of which were Cumana, Caraccas, Verina, Coro, Maracaybo, and Saint Martha. The territory of some of these exhibited mines of gold, which at first were worked. Their produce in the beginning was pretty considerable, but this success was only transitory; whether this arose from there being little gold in them, or, as is most probable, because most of them were only branches that had been already discovered. It soon became necessary to abandon them. In the settlements that were destitute of mines, the Spaniards, thirsting after gold and blood, went into the internal parts of the country to massacre the Indians, or wrest from them what they had treasured of that valuable sand in their rivers, in order to compose various ornaments from it. The last resource of these madmen

was to make slaves, in order to export them into the islands, that their barbarity had depopulated.

LA CASAS was incensed at this horrible conduct. In 1519, he proposed a colony for this coast, on which no one should be able to settle but with his consent. His colonists were to be clothed in such a manner as to make it believed that they did not belong to the nation which had rendered itself so odious. Their apparel was to be white, with a cross of the same colour, and nearly the figure of that of Calatrava. He assured them, that with these kind of knights, and with missionaries instructed by him, he would prove successful without war, violence, and slavery, in civilizing the savages, establishing good methods of cultivation, and even working the mines they should discover. His ambition was confined to obtaining for his expence the twelfth of what the government should draw from the countries whose felicity he thus anxiously studied.

THIS plan was too favourable to humanity not to be rejected. The ambitious who govern states and nations, consume them as a commodity, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to render men better and happier. Charles V. mortgaged the province of Venezuela, situated in the midst of the coast we are now speaking of, to the family of the Welfers. These rich merchants of Aufburg in 1528, sent thither four hundred and four-score Germans, whose avarice and ferocity surpassed every thing that had before appeared in the new world. History accuses them of having massacred or caused to be destroyed a million of Indians. Their tyranny ended by an horrid catastrophe, and they did not think of replacing them. They were obliged to look upon it as an happiness, that the country which they had laid waste should return under the Spanish dominion.

UNFORTUNATELY the scenes of horror which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carjaval, who

was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. This monster, it is true, lost his head on a scaffold; but the punishment did not recall from the grave the victims he had sent thither. The depopulation was so complete, that in 1550 a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on which the hopes of an unbounded prosperity were founded. The habit of tyranny made them treat these slaves with such severity that they revolted. Their rebellions furnished a pretext for massacring all the males; and this colony once more became a desert in which the ashes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans were mixed. Venezuela fell again into that total oblivion which also involved the provinces that are in the vicinity of the Oroonoko and the Magdalena, though the extent, excellence, and variety of their soil might have invited the metropolis to derive several productions from them, and for the most part very rich ones. Only the center of this prodigious coast is employed in cultivating cocoa.

THE cocoa tree is of a middling size, and is propagated from seeds, which are sown at particular distances. When it begins to shoot, it divides into three, four, five or six trunks, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very far from one another, bend towards the earth. Its leaves, which are long and smooth, have an agreeable smell, terminate in a point, and would resemble, if they were glossy, those of the orange tree. From the stock, as well as from the branches, rises a jonquil flower, the pistil of which contains the husk which incloses the fruit. This husk which is of the figure of a melon, that is pointed and divided into sides that are strongly marked, grows to the length of about six or seven inches, and the breadth of four or five, and incloses between twenty or thirty small almonds. It is green during its growth, then it turns yellow, which

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is a proof that its fruit begins to have some consistence. As soon as it acquires the colour of deep musk, it must be gathered, and dried immediately. Every seed of the cocoa is found inclosed in the divisions of the membranes of the husk. Two crops are made annually, which are equal in quality and quantity.

THE cocoa tree, which begins to reward the labour of the cultivator at the end of two or three years, requires a moist ground. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers and dies. A shade to shelter it continually from the heat of the sun, is not less necessary to it. It ought to be surrounded with strong trees, that under the shelter of them it may flourish. The culture it further requires is neither laborious, nor expensive. It is sufficient to extirpate the grass around it, which would deprive it of its nourishment.

THOUGH the cocoa tree is successfully cultivated in several countries of America, and even grows naturally in others, it succeeds in no part of it so well as on the coast we are describing. All the parts of America gather a little, but it only becomes an important object on the territory of Caraccas. They reckon that the crop of this valuable fruit is more than an hundred thousand sancques of an hundred and ten pounds each. The country of Sante Fè consumes twenty thousand; Mexico a little more; the Canaries a small cargo, and Europe from between fifty to sixty thousand. The cultivation of this employs ten or twelve thousand negroes. Such of them who in process of time have obtained their liberty, have built the little town of Nirva, where they will not admit any white people.

THE commerce of Caraccas, to which the bay of Guaira, at two leagues from it, serves for a harbour, was a long time open to all the subjects of the Spanish monarchy, and is so still to the Americans. The Europeans are not so well treated. In 1728, there was  
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formed by Saint Sebastian a company, which obtained an exclusive right of maintaining connections with this part of the new world. Four or five ships, which they dispatch every year, sail from the place of their origin, but their return is at Cadiz. The fanega of cocoa, which seldom in the colony costs more than 35 livres, (1*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .) which are paid in merchandise, is delivered in Spain at the fixed price of 199 livres, (about 8*l.* 14*s.*) There is no rate agreed on for the little cotton, indigo, and leather, which come from this part of the new world.

WHEN we consider that this is all the produce of a coast which is nine hundred leagues long, and twenty, thirty, and forty deep, in a soil very often highly susceptible of cultivation; it is very difficult not to be seized with astonishment mingled with indignation. Let Spain take effectual measures to make labour honourable; and the many plunderers, who wretchedly subsist on smuggling at Saint Martha, on the river de la Hacha, and in other places, will turn cultivators. To this spirit of destruction, which has hitherto been the basis of her policy, let her substitute the principles of moderation and humanity, and one shall then behold the Motilones, the Guajaros, and all the savages that surround her back settlements, or who intercept their communication, hasten to form connections, which will become necessarily and reciprocally useful. Then the provinces, that are situated between Magdalena and Oroonoko will rise to that splendor, to which nature herself invites them. They will excel in rich and various productions a great number of colonies, whose fertility has been celebrated for so long a time. These great objects are so evident, that it would be useless to enlarge on them. We shall now proceed to speak of Chili.



## B O O K IV.

*Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Principles on which Spain manages her colonies.*

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Means by  
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Spaniards  
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masters of  
Chili.

THE country known by the name of Chili, is bounded on the east by immense deserts, that reach as far as Paraguay. To the west, it extends along the South Sea, from the frontiers of Peru to the streights of Magellan. The Incas had prevailed upon great part of this spacious region to submit to their wise laws, and intended to subdue the whole, but they met with insuperable difficulties.

THIS important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro set out from Cusco, and passed the Cordeleras; and though he had lost a great part of the soldiers who attended him in his expedition, he was received with the most perfect submission by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the throne that had just been subverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not some private concerns brought him back to the center of the empire, where he ended his days in an unfortunate manner.

THE Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Baldivia, their leader, entered it without the least opposition. The inhabitants were gathering in their crops; but as soon as harvest was over, they took up arms, and

and never laid them down for ten years. Some districts indeed, discouraged by the continual losses they sustained, at length submitted, but the rest resolutely fought for their liberty, though they were almost always defeated.

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AN Indian captain, whose age and infirmities would not permit him to stir out of his hut, was continually told of these misfortunes. The grief of seeing his people constantly beaten by a handful of strangers, inspired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thousand men each, which he led against the enemy. They marched one after another, and he ordered that if the first company was routed, it should not fall back upon the next, but rally and be supported by it. This order, which was punctually obeyed, disconcerted the Spaniards. They forced all the companies one after another, without gaining any advantage. As both men and horses wanted rest, Baldivia retreated towards a defile, where he saw they could easily defend themselves; but the Indians did not give them time to get thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways, and took possession of the defile, whilst the vanguard followed him so cautiously, that he was surrounded and massacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is said that the savages poured melted gold down his throat, saying, *glut thyself with that metal thou art so fond of.*

THEY availed themselves of this victory, to burn and destroy many of the European settlements, and they would all have shared the same fate, but for the timely assistance of some troops sent from Peru, which enabled them to defend their best fortified posts. They extended themselves a little after this, but never got an inch of ground without fighting for it. Of all the countries in America which the Spaniards have attempted to subdue, this is that where they have always found, and still find the greatest resistance.

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THEIR most irreconcilable enemies are the inhabitants of Arauco and Tucapel, those to the south of the river Bobio, or who extend towards the Cordeleras. Their manners, which resemble more those of the savages of North America, than of the Peruvians their neighbours, render them consequently more formidable. When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents, nor baggage. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with lances and darts. As they are sure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly resign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are alike to them. Their troops being free from all incumbrance of provisions and ammunition, move from one place to another with surprising agility. They expose their lives like men who set no value upon them; and if they lose their field of battle, they find magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits. They sometimes invite their neighbours to join them to attack the common enemy, and this they call running the arrow, because this call flies as swiftly and silently as an arrow from one habitation to another. A mere trifle will kindle a war. A drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms, all take fire, chuse a chief, and proceed to action. They fix upon a time for commencing hostilities, and in the dead of night, fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they never fail to carry off. This is the true origin of the many white and fair Indians.

BEFORE the enemy has time to collect his forces, they all join. Their army, though more formidable from their numbers than from their discipline, boldly rushes upon the best fortified posts. This fury often succeeds, because they are so constantly reinforced, that they

they are not sensible of their losses. If these are very considerable, they retire to the distance of a few leagues, and five or six days after, they fall upon some other place. Those barbarians never think they are beaten, unless they are surrounded. If they can but get to a place of difficult access, they think they are conquerors. The head of one Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the death of a hundred Indians. Such a people must conquer.

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THE country is of such vast extent, that when they are pressed too close, they forsake their possessions, and remove into some impenetrable forest. Recruited by other Indians, they soon return into the parts they had before inhabited; and it is this mixture of flight and resistance, of boldness and fear, that makes them unconquerable.

WAR is to them a kind of amusement. As it puts them to no expence or trouble, they care not how long it lasts; and they make it a rule never to sue for peace. The pride of Spain must always stoop to make the first overtures. When these are favourably received, a conference is held. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the most distinguished captains on both sides, settle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. The pacification always costs the Spaniards some presents, and after a thousand fruitless attempts, they have been forced to give up all thoughts of extending their conquests, and reduced to cover their frontiers by erecting forts at proper distances. These precautions are taken to prevent the Indians who have submitted, from joining the independent savages, and likewise to repel the inroads of the latter into the colonies.

THESE colonies are dispersed on the borders of the South Sea; they are parted from Peru by a desert that measures eighty leagues, and bounded by the island of Chiloe

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Chiloe on the end next the streights of Magellan. On that great length of coast, there are no settlements but Baldivia, Conception island, Valparaisa and Coquimbo or La Serena, which are all sea-ports. In the inland country is St. Jago, the capital of the colony. There is no culture nor habitation at any distance from these towns. The buildings are all very low, made of unburnt brick, and mostly thatched. This is done on account of the frequent earthquakes, and suits very well the indolence of the inhabitants.

THEY are stout and proper men, but few in number. In all that large settlement, there are not 20,000 white men, and not more than 60,000 negroes or Indians, able to bear arms. The military amounted formerly to 2000 men; but the maintaining of them was found too expensive, and they were reduced to 500 towards the beginning of the century. This reduction has made no alteration in the tranquillity of the colony, because these Indians pay no poll tax, and are treated with more humanity than in the other conquered provinces. They so bravely defended their liberty, that they obtained better terms when they came to surrender; and the capitulation has never been broken, for fear they should join with the independent nations in the neighbourhood.

IF Chili is a wilderness, it is not owing to the climate, which is one of the wholesomest in the world. The vicinity of the Cordeleras gives it such a delightful temperature, as could not otherwise be expected in that latitude. There is not a more pleasant province in all the mother country.

THE richness of its gold mines has been too much extolled. Their united produce never exceeds five millions (218,750*l.*) a year. The gold was formerly brought over in bullion; but ever since the year 1749, it is coined in the mint set up at St. Jago. The excellent copper  
mines

mines of Coquimbo supply the whole kingdom of Peru. BOOK  
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A TRUER kind of wealth, though less pleasing to the possessors, is the prodigious fertility of the soil. All the European fruits have improved in that happy climate. The wine would be exquisite, if nature was seconded by art. The corn harvest is reckoned a bad one, when it does not yield a hundred fold.

WITH all these advantages, Chili has no direct intercourse with the mother country. Their whole trade is with Peru, Paraguay, and the savages on their own frontiers.

THEY barter their worst and cheapest goods with these barbarians for oxen, horses, and their own children, whom they are ready to part with for the most trifling things.

THOUGH they are passionately fond of these baubles when they see them, they never think of them when they are out of sight; nor will they stir out of their woods and deserts to procure them; for the Spaniard must bring them out to tempt them. A Spaniard who intends to undertake this trade, first applies to the heads of families, in whom alone resides all public authority. When he has obtained leave to sell, he goes from house to house, and leaves his goods with all who ask for them without distinction. When he has disposed of all, he gives notice that he is going away, and every one of the buyers brings him the effects agreed upon, to the village where he first made his appearance. They have never been known to be guilty of the least imposition. They give him a guard, who help him to drive the cattle, and bring home the slaves he has received in payment, and see him safe to his own frontier.

TILL the year 1724, they sold wine and spirituous liquors to these people, who, like most other savages, are excessively fond of them. In their drunken fits,

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they would take up arms, and murder all the Spaniards they met with; would suddenly attack the forts, and ravage the country near their dwellings. These mischiefs were so often repeated, that at last this dangerous trade was strictly prohibited. The good effects of the prohibition are daily felt. The commotions of these people are less frequent and less dangerous, and their peaceable behaviour has brought on a visible increase of intercourse with them; but it is not likely it should ever be so great as that with Peru.

CHILI supplies Peru with great plenty of hides, dried fruit, copper, salt meat, horses, hemp, lard, wheat and gold. In exchange for these articles, Peru sends tobacco, sugar, cocoa, earthen ware, woollen cloth, linen, hats made at Quito, and all articles of luxury from Europe. The ships sent from Callao on this traffic formerly came to Concepcion Bay, but now to Valparaiso. The voyage was at first so tedious, that a whole year was allowed for the returns to come in. They never ventured to lose sight of land, and followed all the windings of the coast. An European pilot, who had observed the winds, performed that navigation in one month. They considered him as a magician, and he was taken up by order of the inquisition, whose ignorance is ridiculous, when its rage is not an object of detestation. His journal was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to do the like, nothing more was requisite than to keep clear of the coasts. His method was therefore universally adopted.

THE colony of Chili proceeds upon a very different plan in their dealings with that of Paraguay. Their intercourse is not carried on by sea. They would be under a necessity either of passing the straits of Magellan or doubling Cape Horn, neither of which the Spaniards ever do without an absolute necessity. They find it safer, and even cheaper, to go by land, though it is  
three

three hundred leagues from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that they must travel forty leagues through the snows and precipices of the Cordeleras. BOOK  
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CHILI sends to Paraguay a sort of woollen stuffs called *ponchos*, which are used for cloaks. They send wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and bring home wax, a kind of tallow fit to make soap, the herb of Paraguay, European goods, and as many negroes as they can get at Buenos Ayres. Those negroes that come from Panama are partly destroyed by a long navigation and frequent change of climate, are purchased at a higher price, and are not so robust.

CHILI is a state quite distinct from Peru, and is governed by a chief who is absolute in all political, civil, and military affairs, and independent on the viceroy, who has no authority but that of appointing a governor provisionally on the death of the former, till the mother country should name a successor. If on some occasions he has interfered in the administration of Chili, he was authorized to act by a particular trust reposed in him by the court, by the deference paid to the eminence of his office, and by that ambition which naturally prompts men in power to extend their authority. Paraguay enjoys the same independence.

PARAGUAY is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, to the south by the country bordering on the streights of Magellan, on the east by the Brazils, and on the west by Chili and Peru. It derives its name from a large river that comes down from the lake Xarayes, and runs nearly from north to south, and after many windings through an immense space, falls into the sea about the 35th degree of south latitude. Settlement  
of the Spaniards in  
Paraguay.

THIS region, which is about 500 leagues long and 300 broad, exhibits great varieties. It contains vast forests, long ridges of mountains, low lands that are under water great part of the year, and morasses that



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constantly corrupt the air by their stagnating waters. The roving nations who inhabit these deserts are all more or less of an olive complexion, above the middle size, and flat faced. The men and children commonly go naked, especially in the hot countries, and the women wear hardly any covering. All travellers agree in giving a very bad account of these people. They all represent them as very stupid, fickle, perfidious, and voracious, much addicted to drunkenness, incapable of forecast, and excessively indolent and cowardly. If on some occasions they have shewn a kind of fury, they were driven to it by the desire of plunder or revenge.

THEY live upon hunting, fishing, wild fruits, honey which is found in plenty in the forests, and roots that grow spontaneous. Some few eat maize and cassada. The Indians often shift their dwellings, in hopes of finding greater plenty of food. As they have nothing to remove but a few earthen vessels, these emigrations are extremely easy; and they can find boughs to build their huts in every place. Though every one thinks himself free, and though they live in a state of absolute independence, yet the necessity of mutual defence has obliged them to form themselves into a kind of society. Some families join together, under the direction of a leader of their own choosing. These associations, which are more or less numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of their chief, are as easily dissolved as formed.

THE discovery of the river Paraguay, since called Rio de la Plata, was made in 1516, by Diaz de Solis a noted pilot of Castile. He and most of his men were put to death by the natives, who, some years after, treated the Portuguese of Brazil in the same manner, on their threatening to enslave them.

THE two rival nations, equally afraid of these savages, lost sight of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious

cious views another way. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526. BOOK  
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SEBASTIAN CABOT, who in 1496 had discovered Newfoundland for England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Spain, where his reputation procured him the appointment to a brilliant expedition.

THE *Viflory*, famous for being the first ship that ever went round the world, the only one of Magellan's squadron that returned to Europe, had brought a great quantity of spices from the Moluccas. The great profit that was made upon this sale, occasioned a second expedition, and the command was given to Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions for going on, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he stopped there. He sailed up the river, and built a fortress at the entrance of the river Riótercero, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. Every subsequent event is recorded in the Spanish histories with some marvellous story. To evince the falshood of them, we shall only relate them in their own style and manner.

NUNO de Lara was appointed to take care of the first bulwark, erected on the happy banks of the Paraguay, to put into the hands of the Spaniards all the riches of a world destined by heaven, for the people of all Christendom the most faithful to God. If the governor had been furnished only with as many soldiers as there were nations to fight or to drive away, he would have trusted the conquest of Paraguay to Spanish valour that had been signalized by so many victories. But they had given him but a hundred and twenty men to oppose such innumerable people. He, therefore, thought it advisable to secure his situation by an alliance with the Timbuez, a nation bordering on his government.

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Mangora, their cacique, was charmed with the character of Nuno, and accepted proposals which were to honour and distinguish him from that multitude of savages who were destined to be one day the slaves of that nation, who was the mistress of the new world. The Spaniard received him with kindness. But let us admire the power of love, who not content with triumphing over gods and heroes, delights in subduing the fierceness of barbarous nations. His quiver has surer and more deadly arrows than the poisoned darts of the Indian.

THE cacique was inflamed with love at the sight of a lady, whose name was Lucia Miranda, the wife of the invincible captain Sebastian Hurtado. From that moment he grew quite furious, and felt that it would be in vain for America to pretend to resist a nation, each of whose soldiers destroyed whole armies, and each of whose women could lay all their chiefs at her feet. He ventured to confess his defeat to her who did not condescend to perceive it. But, to decoy a prey which he had no hopes of carrying off by force, he laid a snare to the ambition of Hurtado. He invited him to come with Miranda and receive the homage of his whole nation, giving him to understand that a beauty born to triumph in both worlds, would for ever bind such of the Timbuez to the alliance with Spain, as might question the superiority of so renowned a people, when they should see in what fountain of heroism the Europeans drew that courage which so easily made them masters of the earth: for the fame of the Spanish conquests had flown from one tropic to the other, on the wings of terror more powerful, and more rapid, than those of victory.

HURTADO, who had been informed by his chaste wife, of the cacique's fatal passion, thought he ought in compassion, to elude an attachment which he must otherwise

otherwise have washed away with the blood of that unfortunate man. He answered him, that no European soldier would dare to quit his camp or his garrison, without leave of the general or governor, nor could ask such a favour without disgrace, unless it were to fight and conquer. The cacique, enlightened by love, who blinds only happy lovers, saw plainly that the Spaniard was sporting with his passion; and as he found he could never be happy but by the death of his rival, he resolved to get rid of him. It was to be done by treachery. Hurtado could fear none but cowards.

THE cacique was informed that Hurtado was gone out of the garrison with fifty of his invincible soldiers, to fetch provisions at the risque of their lives. The garrison was exceedingly weakened by the absence of that captain. Mangera quickly collected a body of four thousand Indians, and concealed them, well armed, in a covered morass near the citadel. Then marching to the gates, with thirty of his men loaded with provisions, he sends word to Lara, that having been informed that the Spaniards, his friends, were in want of provisions, he had hastened to offer them some, till the convoy should come back with a fresh supply. The generosity of the general could never suspect any snares of perfidy in the presents and voluntary offers of an ally. Lara received the cacique with the sincerest testimonies of gratitude, and treated him and his company with what foreign European provisions he was able to add to the natural fare of the country. They made a feast with this variety of provisions, and from the intoxication of debauchery they were surprized by sleep, and were all destroyed.

THE cacique had before apprized his escort and his ambuscaded troop with his intent. All was foreseen and concerted to execute the basest of treacheries. The Spaniards were scarce fallen asleep, when the light of the

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flames that were devouring the magazine gave notice to the Timbuez to march up to the sacking of the place. The soldiers who were to guard it, half awakened by the noise and light of the conflagration, ran, still drunk, to extinguish it. During this confusion, the authors of the plot open the gates to their companions, and all together, with their daggers in their hands, fell upon the Spaniards, who could neither escape the fire nor the sword. Lara, mortally wounded, thought less of pulling the arrow out of his own side than of plunging his sword into the heart of Mangora. The cacique and he fell together, tearing one another to pieces; and they both expired, thus mingling the blood of a Spaniard with that of a savage; a circumstance that could have happened but in their mutual destruction.

ALL that was left in the place was four women and four children with Miranda, the innocent and ill fated cause of so tragical a scene. Those sad victims were carried to Siripa, the brother and successor of the perfidious cacique. The love of the latter passed into his brother's heart, like a fire rekindled from his ashes. Like the sun himself who shines on the rich banks of the Paraguay, Miranda could not shew herself, without inflaming all who beheld her. But she conveyed into the souls, sometimes the rage of despair, and sometimes the soft weakness of submission and entreaty. Siripa threw himself at her feet, and declared that she was not only free, but that she should reign over the chief and the people, which her charms would have subdued to Spain more effectually than the arms of a victorious nation. How could she still, added he, not forget an unfortunate husband, fallen no doubt under the arrows of the Indian conspirators.

MIRANDA, still more offended at the love of the new cacique, than she had been insensible to that of his brother, answered him with marks of contempt and insult, preferring death rather than a crown from the hand of a savage.

a savage. Had she crossed the seas with her husband, to forsake and betray him in a world where the European women ought to set the example of virtue, as the men did that of bravery? But Siripa, having no idea of a fidelity which appeared to him as extraordinary as the heroism of the Spaniards, thought that time would wear off those sentiments in a sex not made for a long resistance; or that at least so much pride could not be conquered but by gentleness. In vain did Miranda obstinately repulse the attentions of the cacique; he opposed nothing but kindness and respect to the constancy of her denials.

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In the mean time Hurtado, returning from his expedition, found nothing but a heap of bloody ashes on the spot where he had left a citadel. His eyes sought Miranda every where, without discovering so much as the shadow or the footsteps of that faithful wife. At last he heard that she was amongst the perfidious Indians, who in one night had perpetrated so many crimes. No danger could deter him from going to rescue Miranda from her ravishers. His presence kindled all the fury of jealousy in the soul of the cacique. He immediately ordered the death of that Spaniard, whose presence was odious to him on so many accounts. Miranda disarmed the heart of this barbarian, and obtained a repeal of the sentence pronounced against her husband. She even obtained leave to see him sometimes; but on condition that if they dared to listen to love, and give way to its transports, the first moment of their felicity should be the last of their lives. A prohibition infinitely more cruel than that which the king of the infernal regions imposed upon the hapless Orpheus! How can a man possess a lovely wife, and not see her? How can he see her long, and not once enjoy her embraces? What could Siripa expect from the torment to which he had condemned that couple? Love is strengthened by voluntary

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tary self-denial, but cannot bear compulsion. Prohibition quickens desire, danger increases its boldness, and even death invites to taste of life. After passing many days in comforting one another in their slavery, and bathing in those tears which are attracted, dried up, and incessantly renewed in the tender endearments of virtuous and persecuted love, they both dared to wish for one of those delightful moments which redeem whole years of sufferings. After seeing one another a hundred times, always promising and always refusing, in hopes of meeting again to keep the oaths of hymen; at last love, stronger than chains, tyrants and death, demanded that sweet tribute which virtue offers as a homage to heaven in the arms of conjugal fidelity. They at last enjoyed that pleasure which the angels bless around the nuptial bed, covering their faces with their wings, lest they should envy men a happiness that is unknown in paradise. One day the barbarous Siripa found Hurtado in the arms of Miranda. He instantly condemned them, and they were both dragged from the nuptial bed to the stake, where they ended their lives by a lingering death, within sight of each other, amidst the sighs of everlasting love.

WHILST this scene was acting, Moschera, now become the chief of the few remaining Spaniards, embarked with his little company on board a vessel that lay at anchor. By this retreat, Paraguay was totally delivered from the nation that had threatened its liberty. This tranquillity was of short duration. Some more considerable forces appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundation of Buenos Ayres. The new colony soon wanted provisions. All who ventured out to fetch them were murdered by the savages; and they were forced to forbid, upon pain of death, any one going beyond the limits of the new settlement.

A WOMAN

A WOMAN whom hunger had undoubtedly hardened against the fear of death, eluded the vigilance of the guards who were posted round the colony, to preserve it from the dangers it was exposed to in consequence of the famine. Maldonata, this was the name of the fugitive, having wandered about for some time in unknown and unfrequented roads, entered a cave to take some rest. There, to her great terror, she found a lioness, and to her great astonishment, she beheld the formidable beast making up to her, half trembling, and then stroking her and licking her hands with piteous cries, fitter to inspire compassion than fear. The Spanish woman soon found that the lioness was with whelp, and that her groans were the accents of a mother who calls for help to get rid of her burden. Maldonata took courage, and assisted nature in that painful moment, when she seems reluctantly to give light to all beings, and that life they are to enjoy for so short a space. The lioness being safely delivered, she soon went out to fetch a plentiful provision, and laid it at the feet of her benefactress. She daily shared it with the little whelps, who, born by her assistance, and bred up with her, seemed by their wanton frolics and innocent bites to acknowledge an obligation, which their dam repaid with the tenderest assiduities. But when they grew bigger, and nature gave them instinct to seek their own prey, and strength to seize and devour it, the family dispersed in the woods; and the lioness, who was no longer called to the cave by maternal tenderness, disappeared likewise to roam about the forest, which her hunger daily depopulated.

MALDONATA, alone and without sustenance, was forced to quit a cavern which was the terror of so many living creatures, but which her pity had made a place of safety for her. That woman now felt with sorrow the want of a society, that had been so useful to her: she did  
not



**BOOK** not wander long, before she fell into the hands of the  
**IV.** savages. A lioness had fed her, and men made her a  
 slave. Soon after, she was retaken by the Spaniards, who brought her back to Buenos Ayres. The commandant, more savage than the lions or the wild Indians, did not think her sufficiently punished for her flight by all the dangers and miseries she had endured: the barbarian commanded that she should be tied to a tree in the middle of a wood, and there left to starve, or be devoured by monsters.

Two days after, some soldiers went to see what was become of the unhappy victim. They found her alive, surrounded with hungry tygers, who gaping after their prey, durst not come near her, for fear of a lioness who lay at her feet with her whelps. That sight struck the soldiers motionless with pity and terror. When the lioness saw them, she withdrew from the tree, as if to make room for them to unbind her benefactress: but when they took her away, the animal followed gently, to confirm, by her caresses and soft murmurs, the wonders of gratitude which the woman was relating to her deliverers. The lioness with her whelps for some time followed her footsteps, shewing all the signs of unfeigned sorrow that a disconsolate family expresses when they attend a beloved father or son, who is going to embark for America, from whence he may never return home.

THE commandant, informed of the whole adventure by his soldiers, and restored by a monster of the woods to those feelings of humanity which his savage heart had doubtless put off in crossing the seas, suffered a woman to live, who had been so visibly protected by heaven.

MEAN while the Indians, who still hovered round the Spanish colony, with an intent to starve it, hemmed it in more and more within the pallisadoes. Returning to Europe seemed to be the only remedy for such great evils; but the Spaniards were prepossessed with

with the notion that the inland country was full of mines, and this belief kept up their constancy. They abandoned Buenos Ayres, and went and founded the island of Assumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but still on the banks of the river. This was visibly removing further from the assistance of the mother country, but in their opinion, it was getting nearer the fountain of riches; and their greediness was greater still than their foresight.

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THE wild inhabitants of a country that lay nearer the tropic, were less courageous than those of Buenos Ayres, and more easily civilized. Far from molesting the Spaniards, they supplied them with provisions. This behaviour gave room to hope that it might be possible to secure their friendship, if they could be brought over to christianity; and they thought the most effectual method to do this, was, to give them a high opinion of that religion. To this purpose they contrived a procession for the holidays, in which, after the custom of the mother country, all the colonists were to appear with their shoulders bare, and the instruments of flagellation in their hands. The Indians were invited to this horrid farce, not unlike the fanaticism of the Corybantes, and fitter to inspire an abhorrence for christianity than to recommend it. They flocked to this barbarous ceremony, to the number of eight thousand men armed with their bows and arrows, which they never left behind, fully determined to drown these strangers in their own blood, since a religion that taught them to shed it, must certainly make them savage and cruel.

THE moment that the catastrophe was drawing near, Itala was informed by an Indian servant of so unexpected a plot. That Spanish general gave out that the Topiges, enemies to the whole country, were advancing to attack the place. He commanded all his troops to take up arms, and called the Indian chiefs together,

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together, to deliberate on the common danger that threatened their nation and his own. As soon as these men were in the power of the Spaniards, Itala put them to death, and threatened the Indians who had attended them with the same fate. The unhappy wretches fell on their knees, and only obtained their pardon on swearing eternal and unlimited obedience, for themselves and their whole nation. The reconciliation was sealed by the marriage of some Indian women with Spaniards, a ceremony far more pleasing to heaven and earth, than that scourging procession that was to have ended in a massacre. From the union of two such different nations sprang the race of the Mestees, now so common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. That of the moors still flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the savages in America. Perhaps, they are no losers by this mixture, if it is true that men, as well as animals are the better for crossing the breed. And would to God they were all confounded in one race, and that there were no such thing as national antipathy, which only serves to perpetuate wars and all the destructive passions.

BUT discord will arise between brothers, how can we therefore expect that all mankind should become one family, when the children of this family still thirst for each other's blood, and whilst this cruel thirst is excited and kept up by that of gold?

IT was this shameful passion, this cruel greediness, which induced the Spaniards to keep still further from the sea, and nearer the mountains; nor did they grow wiser or more humane, by the danger they had exposed themselves to by advancing so far into the country, of being all destroyed by the savages. They seemed, by the cruelties they exercised upon the Indians, to punish them for their own obstinacy in looking

ing for gold were there was none. Several ships which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were lost by venturing too far up the river, and all on board perished; yet even this could not reclaim them, and it was but in consequence of repeated orders from the mother country that they restored Buenos Ayres. This necessary undertaking was now become easy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong enough to restrain or destroy the nations that might oppose them. They accordingly met with no great difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed it in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos Ayres upon the old spot, which had been forsaken for forty years. The petty nations that lived in the neighbourhood, submitted to the yoke, or fled to distant parts to enjoy their freedom.

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As soon as the colony was provided with a capital, it began to acquire some solidity; and in process of time, the formed four great provinces, the Tucuman, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Paraguay proper, and Rio de la Plata. In all this immense space, there are but twelve towns, scattered up and down, which in Europe would be reckoned only small market towns. They consist of a few houses or huts, placed without any regularity, and parted by little woods or groves, so that every house looks like a single plantation. All round each town are some small villages of conquered Indians. The rest of the country is entirely a wilderness, or inhabited by independent savages. Their rage against those who have forced them to fly to inaccessible mountains is inconceivable. They are continually coming down, in hopes of murdering some of their tyrants. These inroads prevent all communication between the Spanish settlements.

Present situation of the Spaniards in Paraguay.

The capital itself has some defects that are detrimental to industry. Buenos Ayres has indeed some advantages. The situation is healthy and pleasant, and the

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air temperate. The country affords a chearful prospect, and would be fertile, if they would take the pains to cultivate it. The buildings, which were all of earth forty years ago, are more solid and more commodious, since they have learnt to make brick and lime. The population amounts to 16,000 souls, and the white people may be about a quarter of the number. One side of the town is defended by a fortress, with a garrison of a thousand men: and the rest is surrounded by the river. These precautions are extremely proper, but inadequate to the end proposed.

THE town stands seventy leagues from the sea. Large ships cannot come up to it, and the smallest vessels run great risques in sailing up a river that wants depth, is full of islands, shoals and rocks, and where storms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. They are obliged to anchor every night on the spot they come to; and on the calmest days, a pilot must go before in a boat to take the soundings, and trace the way for them. The danger is not over even in the harbour, which is within three leagues of the town. Though the ships take care to cast all their anchors, and to secure their cables with strong iron chains, they are in danger of being sunk by a furious wind, which comes from the frontiers of Chili, and, as it meets with nothing to check its progress over a plain of three hundred leagues, grows still more impetuous as it enters the channel of the river.

If the Spaniards had not been too much directed by chance in fixing most of their American settlements, they would have occupied the port of Infenada, or that of Baragon, at the entrance of the river Plata, to the west, or that of Maldonado, that lies on the same line to the east. The frequent accidents that have happened on the river, and other political reasons, have at last convinced the court of Madrid of the improper situation  
of

of Buenos Ayres, and in 1726, they built a citadel forty leagues lower, at Monte Video, flanked with four bastions, and defended by a numerous artillery, and a garrison of two hundred men. They afterwards found that this harbour was only fit for small vessels, and therefore removed to Maldonado, where the fortifications were built by the Guaranis without pay, as were likewise those of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. It is by nature one of the finest harbours in the world. It is large enough to contain the most numerous fleet; and the entrance which is narrow, is very easily defended. The air is excellent, there is plenty of wood, and the soil is very fertile. When once they have subdued the natives, who are a resolute, warlike and robust people, and when the families which are removed thither from time to time, from the canary islands, have improved the lands, it will be a complete settlement. The ships that are sailing from Europe to the South seas, will find there a safe harbour, and all the refreshments they may want. In time it will become the natural staple for the trade of Paraguay; and may still be improved, when the Spaniards shall have adopted better principles of government. At present it is not very considerable.

THE richest produce that is peculiar to that continent, is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle sized tree. The taste is not unlike that of mallows, and the shape is that of an orange tree. It is divided into three classes. The first, called *caacuy*, is the bud when it is just opening to unfold its leaves. It is far superior to the other two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full grown leaf stripped of its stalks. If the stalks are left on, it is called *caaguazu*, which is the third sort. The leaves are first roasted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

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Paraguay.

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The mountains of Maracayu, at the east side of Paraguay, furnish the herb that is most esteemed. The tree does not grow on the tops of the hills, but in the marshy bottoms that lie between them. This herb first grew famous in distant parts, being sent from Assumption, which is called the capital of Paraguay, though in fact it is a very inconsiderable place. It had always been the delight of the savages; and the first exportation returned considerable profits, but the town was soon obliged to drop this trade, having lost all the Indians of that territory in sending the herb so far. There remained nothing but a desert for forty leagues round the place, so that the inhabitants lost the only chance they had of enriching themselves.

THE new Villa Rica, near Maracayu, engrossed this branch of trade, but were soon obliged to share it with the Guaranis, who at first gathered the herb only for their own use, but soon began to sell it. This employment, together with a journey of four hundred leagues going and coming, kept them at a distance from home great part of the year, so that they grew unmindful of religion, and unconnected with the colony. Many of them perished by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and ran away into the woods, where they resumed their former way of life. Besides, the villages having no men to defend them, lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy. To obviate these inconveniencies, the missionaries sent for seeds from Maracayu, and sowed them in those parts of their grounds that were most analogous to the soil of the mountains. These trees have multiplied exceedingly, and have not degenerated, at least not visibly.

THE produce of these plantations added to that which grows spontaneously, is very considerable. Some is consumed in Paraguay, and Chili and Peru take off annually 100,000 arrobes, which, at the rate of 23 livres

12 sous 6 deniers, (near one guinea) make an article of exportation of 2,362,500 livres. (about 103,360*l*.)

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THIS herb which the Spaniards of South America extol as a preservative against most diseases, is used all over that part of the new hemisphere. It is dried and almost powdered, and then put into a cup, with sugar, lemon juice, and sweet-scented paste; then they pour boiling water upon it, and drink it off directly, before it has time to turn black.

THE herb of Paraguay is not an object of utility to Europe; but that country is valuable on other accounts, and in particular for the hides it sends over. When the Spaniards forsook Buenos Ayres in 1538, they left some horned cattle in the neighbouring fields, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to such a degree in those pastures, that nobody thought it worth his while to take them home when the town was restored. Afterwards they contrived to knock them on the head, merely for the sake of their hides. The manner in which they do it is curious enough.

A NUMBER of huntsmen on horseback repair to the places when they know there are most wild bulls. Each pursues his own beast, and hamstringing him with a sharp iron cut in the shape of a crescent, and fastened to a long handle. When he has brought him to the ground, he pursues others and disables them in the same manner. After some days spent in this violent exercise, they ride back, find the bulls where they had left them, slay them, and carry away the hides, and sometimes the tongues and the fat, and all the rest they leave to be devoured by numbers of vultures and other birds of prey.

HIDES were so cheap at first, that they would hardly fetch one livre six sous a-piece (about 1*s*. 1*d*.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) though the buyers refused a great many because they were not



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of the right size ; but they are grown dearer since there are fewer bulls. This decrease is not owing so much to the huntsmen as to the wild dogs. Those mischievous animals make such havock, that the colony is in danger of losing that lucrative branch of trade. The government of Buenos Ayres has endeavoured to prevent this misfortune by ordering part of the garrison out to destroy those fierce dogs. The soldiers, at their return from this necessary expedition, were so hooted at, that they would not go any more on an errand that cast a ridicule upon them, and exposed them to the contempt of their own countrymen.

THE deficiency in the article of hides, will be made up by tobacco, which they have begun to cultivate in Paraguay with good success. They already send over a considerable quantity every year ; as likewise vicuna wool, which comes from the mountains ; and metals ; all which productions are foreign to the colony.

THE first Spaniards who came to Paraguay, made no doubt but a country that lay so near Peru must contain great riches. They acted in consequence of this persuasion, which was kept up for a whole century by some very trifling incidents. At last they were forced to give up this chimerical idea ; but after it had long been disbelieved, it was again revived to serve some private purpose. It is now certainly known that Paraguay has no gold or silver but what comes from Chili and Potosi. Some of it circulates in the colony ; a deal more is smuggled into the Portuguese settlements ; and every year about five millions are shipped off from Buenos Ayres for the mother country.

THIS account of the natural and moral properties, as well as of the riches of Paraguay, does not convey the idea of a very famous colony. It has been indebted for the attention that has all along been paid to it, to an establishment formed in its center, which, after long debates,

Paraguay owes its celebrity to the settlements the Jesuits have formed there. Remarks on these settlements.

debates, has at last met with the approbation of the wisest men. The opinion we are to entertain of it, seems at last to be determined by philosophy, before which ignorance, prejudice, and faction should disappear, as shades vanish before the light.

THE Jesuits intrusted with the missions of Peru, being informed how the Incas governed their empire and made their conquests, adopted their plan in the execution of a grand project they had formed. The descendants of Manco Capac, marched to their frontiers with powerful armies, composed of soldiers who at least knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themselves; and who, with better offensive weapons than those of the savages, had shields and defensive weapons, which their enemies had not. They proposed to the nation they wanted to add to their empire, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners, to quit their forests and to live in society. They frequently met with opposition. Most of those people held out a great while in defence of their prejudices and their liberty. The Incas then had recourse to patience, and sent fresh deputies, who again endeavoured to persuade them. Sometimes those deputies were murdered; sometimes the savages fell upon the army of the Incas. These fought bravely and had always the advantage. They constantly ceased fighting as soon as they had obtained the victory. If they took any prisoners, they treated them so kindly, that they were in raptures with the yoke of these humane conquerors, and made such a favourable report at home, that their nation became entirely attached to them. A Peruvian army was seldom the aggressor, and the Inca has often been known to forbear hostilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and several of his soldiers had been murdered.

THE Jesuits, who had no army, only made use of persuasion. They went into the forests to look for the sa-

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vages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old customs and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they could not understand, and to enjoy the sweets of society which they were strangers to.

THE Incas had another advantage over the Jesuits, which was, the nature of their religion, calculated to strike the senses. It is a more easy matter to persuade men to worship the sun which they see, than to adore an invisible God, and to believe doctrines and mysteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly the Jesuits were so wise as to civilize the savages in some measure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them christians, till they had made them men. As soon as they had got them together, they began to supply them with all the good things they had promised them, and made them embrace christianity, when, by making them happy, they had made them tractable.

THE division of lands into three shares for religious purposes, for the public, or for individuals; the working for orphans, old people and soldiers; the giving rewards for great actions; the inspection and censure of manners; the effects of benevolence; festivals intermingled with labour; military exercises, subordination, preservatives against idleness, respect for religion and the laws, the union of political and religious authority in the same hands: in a word, whatever was admired in the legislation of the Incas, was practised in greater perfection at Paraguay.

THE Incas and the Jesuits have alike established an order that prevents the commission of crimes, and inflicts the punishment. There is hardly such a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. Their morals are pure, and are kept so by gentler means still than in Peru. The laws were severe in that empire; they are not so amongst the Guaranis. Punishments are not dreaded there, and  
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men fear nothing but the reproach of their own conscience. BOOK  
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AFTER the example of the Incas, the Jesuits have established the theocratical government, with the additional advantage of confession, which is of great service, so long as its institutors shall not make an ill use of it. This alone answers the end of penal laws, and keeps up a purity of manners. In Paraguay, religion, more forcible than the sword, brings the guilty person to the feet of the magistrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorse makes him rather aggravate it; and instead of eluding his punishment, he begs for it on his knees. The more public and severe it is, the more it quiets the conscience of the criminal. Thus punishment, which every where else is the dread of malefactors, is their comfort there, as it puts an end to remorse by expiation. The people of Paraguay have no civil laws, because they know of no property; nor have they any criminal laws, because every one is his own accuser and voluntarily submits to his punishment: their only laws are the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the best of all governments, if it were possible to preserve it in its purity: but then it must be always under the direction of virtuous men, deeply impressed with its true principles; religion should inspire none but the duties of society; should call nothing a crime but what offends against the natural rights of mankind; should not, in its precepts, substitute prayers to labours, vain ceremonies of worship to works of charity, or needless scruples to well-grounded remorse.

BUT it can hardly be expected that Spanish or Italian Jesuits, should not have transmitted to Paraguay the monastic notions and practices of Rome or Madrid. However, if they have introduced some abuses, it must be confessed it has been with such peculiar advantages,

**B O O K** that, perhaps, it is impossible to do so much good to men  
**IV.** any where else, with so little injury.

**THERE** are more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jesuits than in Cusco itself, without more luxury. The use of coin is unknown there. The watchmaker, the weaver, the locksmith, the taylor, all deposit their works in public warehouses. They are supplied with all necessaries; for the husbandman has laboured for them. The Jesuits watch over the wants of all, with magistrates chosen by the people.

**THERE** is no distinction of stations; and it is the only society on earth where men enjoy that equality which is the second of all blessings; for liberty is undoubtedly the first.

**THE** Incas and the Jesuits have both made religion respectable by the dazzling pomp of outward ceremonies. Nothing could be more magnificent than the temples of the sun; and the churches in Paraguay are equal to the finest in Europe. The Jesuits have made their worship pleasant, without making it an indecent farce. The Indians are allured to church by soothing music, affecting hymns, paintings that speak to the eyes, and the majesty of ceremonies; so that pleasure is blended with the exercises of piety. It is there that religion is amiable, and that the people first love it in its ministers. Nothing can equal the purity of manners, the mild and tender zeal, and the paternal kindness of the Jesuits of Paraguay. Every pastor is truly the father, as he is the guide of his parishioners. His authority is not felt, because he commands, forbids, and punishes nothing, but what is commanded, forbidden and punished by the religion they all adore and love, as he himself does.

**IT** should seem that men must have multiplied extremely under a government where no one is idle, where no one is fatigued with labour, where food is wholesome and plentiful, and the same for all; where  
 all

all have comfortable abodes and good clothing; where the aged, the sick, widows and orphans, are assisted in a manner unknown to all the earth besides; where every one marries from choice and not for interest, and where a number of children is a comfort, and can never be a burden; where debauchery, the offspring of idleness, that corrupter of opulence and poverty, never hastens the decays of human life; where nothing stirs up factitious passions, or contradicts those that are regulated by nature and reason; where the people enjoy the advantages of trade, and are not exposed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourse between nations united in the bonds of the same religion, are a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconstancy or inclemency of the seasons; where public justice has never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor to death, to disgrace, or to any punishment of a long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law suit, those two terrible scourges which every where else afflict mankind, are unknown; such a country must naturally be expected to be the most populous in the world; but this is not the case.

THIS dominion, which began in the year 1610, extends from the Parana, which falls into the Paragua under the 27th degree of south latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the same river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of those two great rivers, which descend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jesuits had already, in 1676, settled twenty-two villages; how populous they were is not known. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, consisting in all of 22,761 families, which made a population of 89,491 souls. The habitations and inhabitants have increased since, and the whole may now amount to 200,000.

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THE religious legislators have long been suspected of curtailin<sup>g</sup> the list of their subjects to defraud Spain of the tribute they had submitted to pay; and the court of Madrid has expressed some uneasiness on that account. An exact inquiry has dispelled those injurious and ill-grounded suspicions. It was not very likely that a society that was always jealous of their honour, should for a mean and low interest, sacrifice a sense of greatness, adequate to the majesty of the structure they were erecting with so much care and pains.

Those who were sufficiently acquainted with the genius of the society not to slander it so grossly, gave out that the Guaranis did not multiply, because they perished by working in the mines. This accusation, urged above a hundred years ago, has been propagated by the same spirit of avarice, envy and ill nature, that first invented it. The more the Spanish ministry have searched for these hidden treasures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jesuits had found mines, they certainly would never have opened that door to every kind of vice, which would soon have wasted their empire and ruined their power.

OTHERS are of opinion that the oppression of monkish government must have checked the population of the Guaranis. But this is hardly reconcilable with that blind confidence, and that excessive attachment the Guaranis are said to have for the missionaries who govern them. Oppression consists in imposing labour and tribute; in arbitrary levies of men and money to compose armies and fleets, destined for destruction; in the forcible execution of laws imposed without the consent of the people, and contrary to the remonstrances of the magistrates; in the violation of public, and the establishment of private privilege; in the undue exercise of a pretended divine authority, enforced by the sword of justice.

justice. This is oppression. But it can never exist, BOOK  
IV. where every action is the result of voluntary submission, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice, and full approbation. This is that gentle sway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exercise over another, because it makes them happy who submit to it. Such is most certainly that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, since whole nations are come of their own accord, to incorporate into their government, and not one has ever thrown off the yoke. No one will dare to assert that fifty Jesuits have been able to compel two hundred thousand Indians to be their slaves, who had it in their power either to murder their priests, or to run away to the deserts. This strange paradox would never be believed, even by the most credulous.

SOME have suspected that the Jesuits had propagated those high notions of celibacy amongst their people, which were so prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of ignorance, and are not yet entirely eradicated, notwithstanding the continual exhortations of nature, reason and society. But this is far from being the case. The missionaries have not so much as told their converts of a superstition which was totally unfit for that climate, and would have defeated their best institutions.

LASTLY, our politicians have accounted for the want of population of the Guaranis, from their having no property. Undoubtedly the maxim we go upon, when we consider property as a source of multiplication, both of men and subsistence, is an unquestionable truth; but such is the fate of the best institutions, that our political errors will often endanger them. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants and a thousand other irregularities arising from the imperfections of our governments; the bounds of our possessions, sometimes



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too much confined, sometimes too much extended, at once stop both the fertility of our lands and the increase of our species. These inconveniences exist not in Paraguay. All are sure of a subsistence; all consequently enjoy the great benefits of property without the name. It is not therefore properly the want of it that has prevented the progress of their population; but other causes may be assigned.

FIRST, the Portuguese of S. Paul, in 1631, destroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, the nearest to Brazil. The greatest part of the 97,000 Indians who lived there, perished by the sword, or in slavery, or with hunger in the forests. Only 12,000 escaped, who fled for safety to other parts further distant from the Portuguese.

THIS destruction, the repairing of which must be the work of ages, was followed by slow but incessant losses. The savage nations that hovered about the habitations of the Guaranis, to carry off their provisions, barbarously murdered all who offered to oppose them.

THOSE calamities have been followed by another far more dreadful. The Europeans brought the small-pox amongst the Guaranis, and that distemper is more fatal in Paraguay than any other country in the world. It sweeps away thousands, and hardly any ever recover. It is surprizing that the Jesuits, who could not be ignorant of the salutary effects of inoculation on the banks of the Amazon, should persist in neglecting so safe and easy a method of saving the lives of their converts. It can scarce be supposed that legislators so enlightened could be prejudiced by the ridiculous objections of some ignorant divines, against a practice so universally authorized by its great success.

BESIDES these causes of depopulation, the Guaranis meet with others from their own climate, which of itself breeds contagious distempers, especially on the  
banks

banks of the Parana, where thick and constant fogs, under a sultry sky, make the air damp and unwholesome. The Guaranis are the less able to resist the malignancy of these vapours, as they are great eaters, though in a hot country. They eat their fruit green, and their meat almost raw; this occasions a bad digestion, foul humours, and infirmities which they transmit to their posterity. The mass of blood being tainted by improper food and a noxious air, is not likely to produce a numerous and long-lived offspring.

THE Chiquitos, though they advance further into the torrid zone, are much stronger than the Guaranis, who live nearer the tropic and beyond it. Under the name of Chiquitos are included many small nations, inhabiting a space that extends from the 14th to the 21st degree of south latitude. That country is hot, hilly and fruitful; and intersected on the west side by three rivers, which all meet and take the name of Madera; and this at last falls into the great river of the Amazons.

THE first conquerors of Peru were acquainted with the Chiquitos, but could not subdue them; and their successors attempted it in vain. In 1692, the Jesuits undertook what force could never effect. This project alarmed the Spaniards of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who made a great profit of the slaves they took in those parts, and sold very dear to work in the mines of Potosi, and for other purposes. They knew that the missionaries, who, either from religion or from ambition, had quite other views and other maxims, would never suffer their converts to be oppressed, and would not be at a loss for means to prevent it. Their labours were obstructed by craft, by violence, by calumny, and by all the arts that savage rapaciousness could invent: but their constancy got the better of all opposition, and the

struggle

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structure was raised upon the very plan that had been laid down.

By the year 1726, there were six large communities, among the Chiquitos at a great distance from each other and parted by immense forests. The population exceeded 40,000 souls. Their number has continued increasing, and was almost double in 1746, when the new republic acknowledged the dominion of Spain, on the same terms as the Guaranis had done before, and they copied them in every thing.

BOTH these states have raised an insurmountable barrier between them and the Spaniards. They both have all things in common. It is the commonwealth that carries on trade. Their manufactures are the same, and so is their agriculture. In all parts they cultivate sugar, tobacco, cotton, fruits, the natural corn of the country, and all the several sorts that grow in Europe. Most of our animals have multiplied there, and the cows and horses have not degenerated. The only difference between the two nations is, that the Chiquitos are stronger, more temperate, more assiduous, more active, and more laborious than the Guaranis. In all these respects they are no less superior to the Mojes.

THE Mojes live in the 12th degree of south latitude. To the east, their country is parted from Peru by the Cordeleras. To the south, it is not far from Paraguay. To the north and west are unknown lands. About the year 1670, a Spanish Jesuit named Baraza, a man of great sensibility and resolution, took pity on these poor savages, who lived without culture, without religion, and without morals. He fixed these roving men, and governed them by the laws of the Guaranis. His labours and those of his successors had collected no less than 30,000 souls by the beginning of the century. We have no accounts of the progress of this establishment; but if we may judge by the length of time, and the pains

pains that have been taken, we must suppose it to be very considerable. BOOK  
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THE Jesuits were incessantly labouring to unite these three commonwealths, by civilizing the vagabond nations that are dispersed up and down the intermediate deserts; but their scheme, the execution of which was doubtful, or at least very remote, was not consistent with the sordid views of the Spanish adventurers. Those barbarous usurpers of the new world, had done good service to religion, as long as it was a pretext for shedding blood to get gold; but they no longer attended to it, when its design was to humanize the savages, in order to make them happy. Those destroyers considered the Americans who had escaped their fury, but as so many instruments for their avarice. After they had stripped them of their possessions, they reduced them to slavery, and doomed them to work in the mines. But the Jesuits were too artful for them, and obtained of government the freedom of all the Indians they could persuade to come out of their forests and lurking places, and to live in society. They soon found this was not a sufficient security to their republic, and thought its stability required that the conquerors should be excluded from interfering with them under any pretence whatsoever. They foresaw that if they were admitted as traders, or even as mere travellers, they would assume a haughty and supercilious behaviour, would breed disturbances, would sow dissensions in those peaceable abodes, with the seeds of all kinds of corruption by their bad example. The measures that were taking against these dangerous men, offended them the more, as they met with the approbation of the wise. They were so exasperated, that they filled the whole world with odious imputations, which, upon some slight appearances, were taken for demonstrations.

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THE missionaries traded for the nation. They sent the labours of their artificers, and the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, and received money in exchange, out of which they first took up the tribute of 5 livres 5 sous, (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) which every man above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the king. The remainder went to buy such European goods as were wanted for the colony. This was the ground of the chief accusations that were brought against the Jesuits. They were traduced throughout the whole world as a society of merchants, who under the veil of religion, attended only to their own sordid interest.

It must be confessed at least, that the founders of the first institutions in Paraguay did not deserve this censure. The deserts through which they travelled, afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. They found nothing there but forests, serpents, and morasses; sometimes death, or horrid torments, and always excessive fatigue. The hardships they endured with so much patience, and the infinite pains they took to come at the savages, and induce them to quit their roving life, are far beyond what could have been compassed by men of common abilities. They never dreamt of appropriating to themselves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a habitation of wild beasts. Their successors may possibly have been actuated by less pure and disinterested motives; but if they have been so base as to seek for an increase of riches where they ought to have only sought the glory of God and the good of mankind; if they have acquired lands and amassed treasures in America to purchase consequence in Europe, and to increase their influence all over the world; it is an ambition that has never affected the felicity of their converts. Those people have always enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity, and lived so happily that they  
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had no reason to lament the want of property, which they had no notion of, nor of superfluities which they did not want. BOOK  
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BUT some who have not accused the Jesuits of Paraguay of avarice, have censured their institutions as being the work of blind superstition. If our idea of superstition is just, it retards the progress of population; it devotes to needless practices the time that should be employed in the labours of society; it strips the laborious man, to enrich the solitary and lazy; it promotes discord and persecution for things of little moment; it gives the signal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its ministers from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of society: in a word, it makes the people miserable, and arms the wicked against the righteous. But there is no such thing in Paraguay; and if superstition has created the happy institutions of these christians, who are strangers to all the world besides, it is the first time it ever did any good to men.

POLITICAL jealousy, ever restless, ever fearful, ever ambitious, suspected with more probability, that the republics formed by the Jesuits might one day aspire after absolute independence, and possibly attempt to overthrow the power under whose protection they had been nursed. Those men who were so gentle, so perfectly united amongst themselves, and so assiduous in their labours, were at the same time the best soldiers in all America. They were well trained up and exercised; they obeyed from a religious principle, and fought with the same zeal that brought the christian martyrs to the scaffold, and the same enthusiasm that overthrew so many empires by the hands of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. They were still in the full vigour of uncorrupted manners and laws; whereas the Spaniards in America, enervated by that sloth which is the consequence of victory and cruelty, were no longer what

**BOOK** they had been at the time of their conquests; so that  
**IV.** their fears were not altogether groundless.

IN the governments that preceded the establishment of christianity, and in most of them that did not admit it, civil and religious authority was always in the same hands, as derived from the same source, and tending to the same end; or the one was so subservient to the other, that the people could not separate the two ideas, but were kept in awe by the one, whilst they were serving the other. The wisest lawgivers have always been convinced that religion, as it prepared the minds of the people to obedience, must secure the continuance of it. But in Europe, where christianity rose on the ruins of a barbarous religion and a great empire, this occasioned from the first a rivalry between the two powers, that of arms, and that of opinion, which were both at the same time contending for dominion over men and their property. When the northern barbarians poured in upon the territories of the Roman empire, the christians, persecuted by the heathen emperors, implored the assistance of these hostile foreigners, against the government that oppressed them. They preached to these conquerors a new religion, which made it their duty to extirpate the old; and asked for the materials of the temples to build churches. The savages readily gave away what did not belong to them; they offered up to christianity all its enemies and their own; they took lands and men, and gave the church a share of both. They demanded tribute, but exempted the clergy, because they countenanced their usurpations. Lords turned priests, and priests became lords. The great attached the privileges of their birth to the priesthood which they embraced. The bishops imprinted the seal of religion on the lands they possessed. From this mixture and confusion of birth with high stations, of titles and estates, of persons and things, sprang up a power, monstrous

monstrous from its birth, and which in process of time became enormous; a power, which, from the very first, was distinct from the only true power, which is that of government; a power, which attempted to raise itself above government, but having been unsuccessful in the attempt, has since separated from it, and only lorded it over such as were willing to submit. These two powers are so discordant, that they are incessantly disturbing the harmony of states and empires.

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THE Jesuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this source of division, have been warned by the mischief their society has sometimes done in Europe; and have exerted themselves to promote the real happiness of America. They have united both powers into one, making every thing subordinate to religion; which gave them the entire disposal of the thoughts, affections and faculties of their converts. The question is, whether they did it for their own sakes, or for the sake of their subjects.

THE readiness with which these missionaries, on their being dismissed by the court of Madrid, have evacuated an empire which they could so easily have defended, has justified them in the opinion of a great part of the public, from the imputation of ambition, which their enemies have laid to their charge, and spread throughout all Europe. But philosophy, which sees with other eyes than the vulgar, waits to judge these lawgivers, till the behaviour of the inhabitants of Paraguay decides for or against them. If those nations submit to Spain, which has no right or force to oppose against them, it will be said that the Jesuits had taken more pains to inspire men with notions of obedience, than to set them right as to the principles of natural equity, which those savages were so much inclined to adopt; and that by bending them to submission by ignorance, they only made them happier at first, in order to make them one day the



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tools of their own arbitrary will. But if these people, armed and disciplined as they are, should repulse the barbarous oppressors of their country; if they should avenge those immense regions of all the blood that Spain has shed; philosophers will then say the Jesuits have laboured for the happiness of mankind with the disinterested spirit of virtue; that they have ruled over the inhabitants of Paraguay only to instruct them; that whilst they gave them a religion, they left them the fundamental notions of justice, which are the first precepts of true religion; and that they have chiefly engraved on their minds that principle of all lawful and durable society: that it is a crime for men collected together, to consent to a form of government, which, by abridging them of the liberty of disposing of their own fate, may one day make it their duty to commit crimes. Thus the tranquillity of Spanish America depends upon the opinions established in Paraguay.

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INDEPENDENT of this danger, which may be considered as a domestic concern, Spanish America always stands exposed to foreign invasions, especially from the South Sea. It was long thought to be secure on that side, considering the distance, and the hazards of that navigation, and how little those seas were known. The Dutch, who did not think this coast of America so inaccessible, sent a small squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the chief port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas. They already possessed in imagination the treasures of those rich provinces, when want of sickness began to shake their hopes. The death of their chief increased their uneasiness, and the troops that were sent against them from Peru completely disconcerted them. Their resolution forsook them at that distance from home, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to embark again. If they had had

had more perseverance, they might probably have held out till the arrival of the succours that would have been sent from the Zuyder-zee, when their first success came to be known.

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THE French were of this opinion, when in 1698 they formed a settlement in the streights of Magellan, and on that part of the coast of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This scheme was approved by Lewis XIV, who gave it the sanction of public authority. The close connections which he soon after entered into with the masters of America, prevented the execution of a project, which was more extensive than it appeared to be.

THE English had not waited for the example set them by Holland and France, to turn their attention to the South Sea. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624, but the weakness of the prince who then governed them, proved the ruin of a considerable association formed for this great purpose. Charles II. resumed this brilliant scheme, and sent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre those latitudes that were so little known, and to endeavour to open some communication with the nations of Chili. That monarch was so impatient to know the success of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the downs, he got into his barge, and went to meet him at Gravesend. Though this first attempt had been of no service, the ministry were not discouraged. They erected the South Sea company in 1710, who found it more convenient, or perhaps more humane, to procure the treasures of those parts by trade than by conquest. They were quietly enriching themselves, when a bloody war changed the situation of things. A squadron was sent to the South Seas, under the command of Anson, who would probably have executed the terrible operations contained in his instructions, had it not been for

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the misfortunes that beset his squadron, which, from wrong measures at first setting out, was forced to double Cape Horn at a season when it is impracticable. Since the year 1764, England is quietly trying for a settlement in the South Seas. The English admirals have already discovered several populous islands. Time will shew what use they may be of, and how far they may be serviceable towards bringing on some revolution.

THESE are very slow steps for ambition. But if the noble and lawful desire of delivering half the continent of America from the Spanish yoke, and an emulation to share its riches by fair trade and industry; if such exalted views should animate a nation, it would be an easy matter, by pursuing the plan laid down for Anson, to rob Spain at one stroke of all her American possessions beyond the southern tropic. Twelve men of war, sent from Europe with three or four thousand troops, might safely undertake it. They would first get refreshments in the Brazils, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and at all the Portuguese settlements, which are nearly concerned in the humbling of the Spaniards. If afterwards these ships should want to refit, they might safely put in on the uninhabited and uninhabitable coast of Patagonia, at Port Desire or at St. Julian. They would double Cape Horn in December and January, when those seas are not more stormy than others. If they should chance to separate, they would meet at the desert island of Socoro, and then fall upon Baldivia.

THIS place is not so formidable as it appears. The fortifications indeed are considerable, but they are out of repair. There are a hundred pieces of cannon, but few have carriages fit for use. They are never provided with stores or ammunition to stand a siege. If an attentive administration, a thing unknown in that country, should remedy these disorders, the resistance would not be much more obstinate. A garrison consisting of officers

cers and soldiers disgraced by their crimes, and by the banishment to which they are condemned, would always be wanting in the principles of honour, the experience and the abilities requisite to make a glorious defence. The conquerors would find a safe harbour, excellent timber, hemp, corn, and all the comforts they could wish for after a long passage. The troops, who would soon recover in so healthy and plentiful a country, would attack the rest of Chili with great superiority.

THIS kingdom, which was formerly defended by two thousand soldiers, has now but five hundred, half horse and half foot. It is true, all the Spaniards able to bear arms, and formed into companies, are obliged to join the troops; but what could these enervated and inexperienced citizens do against well-disciplined veterans? But this is not the whole. The Araucos and their friends would no sooner hear of this revolution, but they would take the field of their own accord. Their cruelty is so well known, that the Spaniards would bend all their efforts against these barbarians, and would no longer think of opposing the Europeans.

THE coast of Peru would make still less resistance. Callao, the only fortified place, has but a garrison of six hundred men. The taking of this port would open the way to Lima, which is but two leagues off, and quite defenceless. The succours that might be sent them from the inland parts, where there is not one soldier, would not save them; and the enemies squadron would intercept any that might come from Panama by sea. Panama itself, which has nothing but a bare wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would soon be obliged to surrender: the garrison, continually weakened by detachments they must send to defend Darien, Chagre and Porto-Bello, would be unable to repulse a brisk attack.

WE will allow that the enemy, though he was master of the coasts, would not be so of all Peru. No doubt the taking of two inconsiderable places is very different

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from the conquest of a vast empire. However, if we consider the bad dispositions of the Indians, the discontent of the Creoles; their sloth, their want of experience, and their ignorance in the art of war; a great revolution may not be so improbable a thing as it appears at first sight. The nation that should attack the Spaniards, would have but little less advantage over them, than they themselves had over the Americans when they first discovered them. What if the Jesuits, with that spirit of ambition they are accused of, and that resentment which religion itself cannot have extinguished in their hearts, should join with the enemies of their persecutors, and introduce them to a people who must still retain an affection for them. How easily might they engage all the inhabitants of Paraguay to revolt, and stir up a general war of all America against Spain! What a triumph for that society, for those men who are said to be so artful, and so eager in all their secret intrigues, if they could in their turn expel that nation from America, which has driven them out of all its dominions!

BUT supposing the success of the conqueror should be confined to the taking of Callao and Panama, Spain would then be deprived of all the treasures of the South Seas. To open the communication afresh, the Spaniards would be obliged to make considerable armaments; they must not be intercepted, and they must go round Cape Horn, or through the straits of Magellan. Then, without a harbour to refit or recruit, they must fight a squadron that had been supplied with all they wanted by the Isthmus of Panama; and if they could beat this squadron, they must afterwards be in a condition to besiege and take two places that would be valiantly defended. All this is not easily done.

WITHOUT executing our scheme in its full extent, the navigation of the South Seas may be intercepted. It may be done if only two strong men of war can get thither

thither undiscovered. By cruising to the north and south of Lima, where all business centers, nothing that comes in or out can escape them. The ships which, on account of the winds and currents, must always keep in the same line, must necessarily fall under the enemy's sails. When trade has sustained so many losses as to be afraid of sending out any more ships, there is indeed an end of captures; but if the commanders are so faithful to their country as to be unmindful of their own interest, and keep their station, the trade of Spain is at a stand.

ALL these misfortunes, which may not be far off, considering the boldness of navigators, and the recent discoveries made by the English in the South Seas, cannot otherwise be prevented, than by a strong squadron constantly stationed there. The Spaniards have all the materials for it in their own hands. They are to be found in the South Sea, and are adapted to the climate. It must be granted that the crews, made up in a great measure of Indians or negroes, will never be equal to the European sailors; but if they are carefully exercised, and accustomed to the sea, to fire, to the manœuvre, and to discipline, they will be very well able to encounter men who are spent with the fatigues of a long navigation, a hot climate, sickness, and bad provisions, and who have no place where they can put in, in those remote latitudes. We may even venture to affirm, that if the Spaniards could once gain the affection of the Indians, and reconcile them to their dominion, and if they could train them up to navigation, with such a naval force as we have been proposing, no nation on earth would dare to shew its flag in the South Seas.

BUT even supposing this is not to be expected, it would still be highly proper to have a squadron always in readiness, to be employed in case of a war. In the interval of peace, the men might spend their leisure time in gathering

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thering up provisions along the coast, which are wasted for want of opportunities and means of exporting them. This would probably awaken the colonists out of that lethargy into which they have been sunk for these two centuries. When they were once sure that they could send their produce to Panama without any expence, and that it would be conveyed down the Chagre at a moderate rate, to be shipped off for Europe; they would work with alacrity from a certainty of reaping the benefit of their labour. Possibly in time their emulation might be such as to induce the ministry to dig a canal, five leagues in length, which would complete the communication between the two oceans, which is already so far advanced by a navigable river. Government would of course share with the people the benefits that would accrue from the execution of this scheme; unless the Spaniards think it their interest to keep the isthmus of Panama shut up, as the caliphs of old, who would not open the isthmus of Suez. The welfare of nations and the utility of commerce, loudly call for these two openings, to facilitate a speedy intercourse between the several nations. Eastern despotism and Spanish indolence resist that freedom of trade, and that spirit of social equality, which they are unacquainted with. They chuse rather to starve one hemisphere that abounds with riches, and to see the other perish with want and slavery, than to divide the earth and its treasures between all its inhabitants. But perhaps, the court of Madrid apprehends that if the two seas were joined, Peru and Chili might be invaded by the northern sea: this must now be inquired into.

THE Spanish possessions on the northern sea, extend from the gulph of Mexico to the Oroonoko. In that immense space, there are an infinite number of places where it is impossible to land, and many more where landing would answer no end. All the ports that have hitherto

hitherto been considered as important, such as Vera-Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello and Carthagena, are fortified, and some of them in a very strong manner. BOOK  
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EXPERIENCE has shewn that none of these places were impregnable. We know of some nations who are in a condition to seize upon any one that may suit them; and it is not impossible but there may be some one power that has men, money and ships sufficient to take them all one after another; and, what is still more difficult, to keep them. The consequence would be, that the air of those rich countries, which almost all lie between the tropics, would destroy the conquerors apace. The climate is at all times dangerous for the Europeans, but mortal for six months in the year, and pestilential to all foreigners, accustomed to temperate weather, an easy life, and plentiful food. It appears from the most moderate computations, that three tenths of the French who go over to the American islands are destroyed by the climate, and four tenths of the English; whereas the Spaniards lose but one tenth on the continent, which is much more unwholesome.

THOUGH human invention should find out some method of subduing the malignity of the climate, yet the conqueror would unavoidably be confined within the fortresses he had taken, and must never expect to share the produce of the mines, that are at an immense distance from the sea. It is inconceivable how the boldest and most fertile genius would contrive to penetrate into a desert country, without a possibility of getting at any provisions; how infantry alone could face a numerous and impetuous cavalry; how they could advance through tremendous precipices, in a country where there never was but one bad road, which would certainly be broken up, and force their way through defiles, which five hundred cowards could defend against an army of twenty thousand men.

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SUPPOSE all these miracles were really performed; is it to be thought that the American Spaniards will submit to any foreign yoke whatever? From inclination, from laziness, from ignorance, from custom, and from pride, they are strictly attached to their religion and their government, and will never conform to new laws. Their prejudices will furnish them with weapons sufficient to repel their conqueror, as the Portuguese, thrown into a remote corner of the earth, formerly drove the Dutch out of Brazil, when they had almost entirely subdued it.

NOTHING would then remain to secure the conquest, but to destroy all the Europeans settled there: for such is the wretched fate of conquerors, that after they have seized upon a country, they must extirpate the inhabitants. But it would be odious and unjust to suspect that any civilized nation would be guilty of that excess of cruelty, which has devoted the Spaniards to the execration of all succeeding ages. Besides, this expedient would be as senseless in a political as it is horrid in a moral light. Every nation would be forced, in order to draw advantages from its new possessions, to sacrifice its own population, activity and industry, and with these its whole power. No people are so ignorant as not to know that from the beginning of the world, every state whose views have been turned to the produce of mines, has miserably perished, or languished in poverty and slavery.

YET some maritime power might be so blinded by enthusiasm, as to aim at engrossing those advantages they now share with rivals. Their intoxication would represent to them the mines carried to double their present value, and culture to a hundred times what it is now; artificers quitting the countries where they are out of employment, to incorporate into the nation that would supply America with food and raiment; the ships that

that carried the fruits of their industry to the utmost parts of the earth, rotting in harbours where the cessation of labour had put an end to navigation; every branch of trade necessarily falling into the only hands that are the dispensers of all treasures; and the whole world in some measure under the laws of the nation that had invaded all its riches.

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THIS flattering prospect would most certainly prove the ruin of any nation that should build upon it; but it would involve Spain in long and ruinous wars, which it is necessary and easy to prevent: this may be effected by means of a squadron that might be built in the island of Cuba. Her docks are the more conveniently placed at the Havanna, as the coasts that are most frequented by their ships, are for the most part under the torrid zone. The woods of Europe are too soft to resist the excessive heat of that climate, and they dry up; whereas those of the country, grown up and hardened in the hot sun, will keep for ages with a little care.

BUT it would be very wrong to confine the use of this navy to the defence of the Spanish coast. It might be usefully employed in reviving the intercourse between the national colonies, which was formerly interrupted by the privateers, and has been drooping ever since. They should prevent illicit trade, and the disputes it occasions. They should secure navigation, which is more precarious than ever, since the English were put in possession of Florida by the treaty of 1763.

SOME men of restless dispositions, who often apprehend danger where there is none, whilst they do not so much as suspect it where it really is, have suggested that the navigation of Spain might be intercepted at the entrance of the channel of Bahama. The harbour of St. Augustine is only fit for ships of a moderate size, and besides, there are so many rapid currents in these latitudes, so many reefs and shoals, and such frequent storms,

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forms, that it is impossible for the boldest sailors to cruise there. It would be a greater misfortune to Spain, if Great Britain should find a harbour fit to admit a fleet on the coasts of Florida in the gulph of Mexico, which at present are so little known. Possibly this may not be the case; but as the court of Madrid cannot be sure of it, the best way to guard against such a stroke, is to be provided with a good Squadron.

THIS would answer another purpose which is full as important. The English colonies in North America are daily augmenting to a degree that excites universal astonishment. They may continue under the dominion of the mother country, or perhaps they may shake off the yoke. Whichever is the case, their wants will increase with their population. This is already so considerable, that the old markets are not sufficient for the exportation of their commodities; nor the usual returns enough for their consumption. This deficiency must have been the original cause of that great ferment, that has lately broke out in so alarming a manner. Great Britain does not seem as yet to be aware of the true causes of these commotions, that give her so much uneasiness; but she will find it out sooner or later. The English will be sensible that the only way to restore tranquillity to their possessions abroad, is to give more extent to their trade. Necessity, as much as ambition, will make them conquerors in America, and it is most likely the storm will first break over Mexico. Nothing but the naval force of Spain can prevent or avert the impending revolution.

THE rendezvous for these forces would be very ill placed at the Havanna, San Domingo, Vera-Cruz, Porto-Bello, or Carthagena, all unhealthy places; but it should be at Bayahonda, between St. Martha and Maracaybo. That spot, though but little known, unites all the advantages that can be desired; an excellent harbour of easy access, and easily made impregnable;

pregnable; great plenty of timber: a very wholesome air; and a soil equally fit for culture and breeding cattle. The savages who inhabit that country, and who fish for pearls at Cape Vela, would either withdraw, or continue their peaceable occupations, if they were treated with humanity. From this shelter, the Spanish ships would keep their enemy's settlements in awe, and protect their own.

INDEED when they had once fallen to leeward, they could easily come back. The winds blowing regularly from the several points between south-east and north-east, and the currents always setting to westward, must certainly make their passage very tedious. But this inconvenience must not be suffered to supersede a project that is so evidently necessary. It would be a great advantage, if this naval force could occasionally proceed to the South Seas; but unfortunately the nature of things will not admit of it. Before the squadron could sail towards the line, it must go up to the latitude of the straits of Gibraltar, which would be as bad as sailing from Europe. All that could be done, would be to train up seamen, and send them over-land, to man the ships that were stationed to protect the coasts of Peru.

THE plan of defence we have laid down for Spain, is liable to great difficulties. That monarchy may not be in a condition to raise the necessary supplies for forming a navy, though convinced of the want of it; or able to spare a sufficient stock for the support of it. They may not confide in their managers in the new world, so as to intrust them with so important a concern. These objections, which we must confess are weighty ones, seem to be unanswerable, in the present state of languor, inaction, ignorance and dejection of that power, which was once so formidable. But a speedy and spirited reformation, supported by the zeal and authority of government,

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vernment, which would put the people upon thinking, trying, and acting, would soon dispel a cloud of obstacles, which are magnified, multiplied, and prolonged by timidity.

THESE endeavours to promote the public utility of the colonies, will certainly meet with opposition from those who find their interest in protecting enormous abuses of a long standing; but it will be to very little purpose, if the mother country is resolutely bent upon redressing those grievances.

Causes of  
the decay  
of Spain.

ALL the political writers who have attempted to account for the miseries under which Spain has so long been oppressed, have constantly repeated, that the Spaniards finding themselves masters of the treasures of America, had of their own accord given up their manufactures and agriculture. This idea can never have entered into the system of any people. Nations do not reason; they are directed or borne away by events, which are in the hands of their rulers. The riches of America, far from destroying arts, must, and did quicken them.

FERDINAND, by the conquest of the kingdom of Grenada, had acquired all the manufactures of Spain, which were almost all in the hands of the Moors; but they had considerably injured the sale of their goods by the expulsion of the Jews. The discovery of America soon gave fresh vigour to industry and commerce. They both increased prodigiously under Charles V, and even under Philip II. In the last years of his reign, the city of Seville alone contained sixty thousand looms for weaving silks. The woollen cloth of Segovia was esteemed the finest in Europe. The Levant and Italy preferred that of Catalonia to any other. The armament against England, known by the name of the invincible Armada, and consisting of a hundred and fifty large men of war, is a proof that Spain had at that time a powerful navy, and consequently a very extensive trade by sea. In the compass of a century, the Spaniards  
formed

formed immense and very expensive undertakings. The wars of the low Countries and of the League alone cost them three thousand millions of livres. (131,250,000*l*.) By these operations, they sent infinitely more of their money abroad, than they have since done by trade.

If they had then been obliged to buy the goods they sent to their colonies, Europe would at that very time have enjoyed the treasures of America, as she does now. In that case, Spain could never have made prodigious armaments by sea and land, paid so many foreign armies, fomented divisions in the neighbouring states, subverted every thing by her intrigues, been the mover of all political events, and the first and almost the only power on earth.

THE visible decay of Spain may be dated from the total expulsion of the Moors and Jews in 1611. This decay was so rapid, that some Spanish writers proposed schemes for the political restoration of their empire, as early as the year 1619. It is easy to conceive what a vacancy the loss of a million of laborious men must make in their country, at a time when the nobility, who still retained all the prejudices and barbarous privileges of the Visigoths, from whom they boasted their descent, threw all the labour upon that class of men they despised, though in fact the most useful. The military, that destructive profession, was the only one that was entitled to any distinction; and the arts, which are the source of affluence, were looked upon as a disgrace. If there was any agriculture, it was because there were slaves. If there was any trade, it was because there were Jews. Lastly if Spain had any manufactures, it was owing to the Moors, who led a laborious life, and were loaded with infamy. Government did not consider, that the only way to keep the treasures of America in the mother country, was to encourage industry at home. The only active

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part of the nation, the only set of men that could promote that great end, were shamefully banished. In vain did these unhappy sufferers offer the government twenty millions, and they would have given three times as much, for leave to continue where they were born; the same superstition that had doomed them to destruction, would not suffer their cries to be heard. There was not one power in Europe prudent enough to offer them an asylum, and they were forced to disperse in Africa and Asia.

WHILST these unfortunate persons were flying to those barbarous coasts, Spain was exulting in her blind fanaticism; and thought herself still the richest power on the face of the globe, little suspecting that the ships that crowded her harbours, were but so many sponges that were draining her vitals. When the Spaniards perceived the diminution of their specie, they imputed it to the loss of some India ships that had been cast away in their passage home, to the taking of the galleons by the Dutch, and to the badness of their sails. They thought to supply these deficiencies by laying higher duties on manufactures and artificers. But this burden, which would have been too heavy for many, was intolerable to the few remaining workmen. They fled to Flanders and Italy, or staid at home and threw up their profession. The silks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

THE treasury having no more manufactures to oppress, now oppressed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture, were as ill judged as they were various and excessive. Besides general duties, there was what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular class of citizens; a kind of tax which does no good to the state, and ruins those who are taxed, to enrich the selfish contriver.

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These resources proving inadequate to the urgent necessities of government, the financiers were called upon to advance considerable sums. At that period it was, that they became masters of the state, and were empowered to farm out the several parts of their lease. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberless oppressions. The bye-laws that these rapacious men were allowed to enact, were but so many snares to entrap the honest and credulous. In process of time, they usurped the sovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to chuse private judges for themselves, and to pay them. In short, they came to be judges in their own cause.

THE owners of the lands that were crushed by this tyranny, either threw up their estates, or took no pains to improve them. That fertile peninsula, which, though subject to frequent droughts, still fed thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the discovery of America, and had anciently been the granary of Rome and all Italy, was soon covered with thorns and briars. They contracted the pernicious habit of fixing the price of corn, and contrived to have public granaries in every commonalty, which were consequently managed without either skill or honesty. Besides, what good could be expected to accrue from such deceitful measures? Who could ever think of hindering corn from fetching a good price, in order to increase the quantity of it; to make the necessaries of life more chargeable, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

WHEN once a nation has begun to decline, it seldom stops. The loss of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greatest evils. Whilst Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a spirit of industry, Spain was falling into inaction and barbarism.



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The duties paid at the old custom houses, which were still suffered to subsist in the passage from one province to another, were carried to such a pitch, as to cut off all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one to another, was prohibited. In a short time, not the least sign of a road was to be seen. Travellers were stopped at the crossing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a single canal, or one navigable river. The most superstitious people in the world, as to the observance of fast days, suffered their fisheries to drop, and bought fish every year to the amount of twelve millions. (525,000*l.*) Except a few ill-built vessels destined for their colonies, they had not a single national ship in their harbours. Their coasts lay exposed to the depredations of the Barbary corsairs. To escape falling into their hands, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *avisos* they sent to the Canary islands and to America. Philip IV, with all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold turned to copper, and was reduced to set a price to his copper coin, almost equal to that of silver.

THESE were not the greatest grievances of the monarchy. Spain, full of a stupid and superstitious veneration for the age of her conquests, scornfully rejected whatever was not practised in those glorious days. The Spaniards saw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful, but thought it beneath them to copy after any of them. Their distinguishing character is the highest contempt for the customs and manners of their neighbours.

THE inquisition, that tremendous tribunal, set up at first to stop the progress of Judaism and Mohammedism, had proved fatal to arts, sciences, and all useful knowledge. Spain indeed was not disturbed or wasted with religious

religious divisions; but remained stupidly sunk in the most profound ignorance. Religious disputes, though always bad in themselves, at least exercise the mind. They put men upon reading and meditating. They make men consult antiquity, study history, and the ancient languages; hence arises criticism, which is productive of solid taste. They soon grow weary of the topic that first inflamed them; the controversy is at an end, but the erudition remains. Religious matters are like those acid and volatile particles that exist in all bodies fit for fermentation. They first cloud the limpid liquor, but soon put the whole mass in motion. In this ferment, they fly off or sink to the bottom. The moment of depuration comes, and nothing remains but a soft, pleasant, and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological disputes, all the dregs were left in Spain. Superstition had so stupified the nation, that they gloried in their blindness.

INSTEAD of that activity which could alone convey life to the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in all their motions, that all business was impeded. They went through so many formalities, and took so many precautions not to be cheated, that they never could act.

WAR was no better managed than politics. A population which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, put it out of their power to raise an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were sent to fight along with these mercenaries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have several times been known to join with the foreigners, in ravaging the

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provinces that were committed to their care and protection.

A REGULAR pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to pay armies, and to keep them in that dependence and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of needless officers, who by their salaries and their oppressions absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the most ancient rights of the crown should not have been alienated for a trifling consideration, or suffered to be invaded; nor should the royal treasures have been squandered, to keep spies and to procure traitors in every country. Above all things, the grandeur of the prince should not have been made to consist in granting pensions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldness in asking for them.

THIS noble and criminal beggary was grown a general fashion. The Spaniard, born generous and grown proud, and disdaining the common occupations of life, aspired after nothing but governments, prelacies, and the chief posts in the magistracy.

THOSE who could not attain to these preferments, glorying in their proud indolence, still put on the style of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleness, as a minister absorbed in state affairs.

EVEN the lower sort would have thought they defiled their victorious hands, by prostituting them to peaceful labours. The fields and workshops were left to foreigners, who came and enriched themselves by the indolence of the natives, and carried home a stock to fertilize their own lands.

MEN born to no property, meanly preferring idle slavery to laborious liberty, eagerly offered themselves to increase that multitude of domestics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently displays

displays the pride of the most useless, and the degradation of the most necessary class of men. BOOK  
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THOSE who could not stoop to be menial servants, and had too much vanity to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstition had long since provided a convenient retreat for their laziness, and where folly went so far as to bestow distinctions upon them.

EVEN the Spaniards who had decent fortunes, chose to live single, rather than be at the pains of providing for a family. Some who did marry, followed the example of the great; they first gave their sons the superstitious education of the colleges, and at fifteen, gave them up to the courtezans. These young people grew old before their time both in body and mind, and wasted their faculties in these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony. This licentiousness accounts for the decay of population in Spain, where families were formerly as numerous as in any other country.

OUT of this degenerate race were taken the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption. They seldom shewed any sense of virtue or equity, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow-creatures. They thought of nothing but plundering the provinces committed to their care, to go and squander their ill-acquired riches in rioting at Madrid. This wickedness always went unpunished, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies, and sometimes revolutions.

BESIDES all this, the states that were united to Castile by marriage or conquest, helped to complete their ruin. The low countries did not bring in enough to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. Franche

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Comté brought in nothing at all ; Sardinia, Sicily and the Milanese less than nothing. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to strangers. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Roussillon, the Balearic islands and Navarre, pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always settled by their deputies, but seldom to the liking of a rapacious court, exhausted by senseless generosities.

WHILST all was thus running into confusion in Spain, the treasures of America, which at first had only found their way to other European nations by the contingencies of war and politics, now flowed into them by an easy and peaceable track. As the mother country could not possibly supply the wants of her colonies, this quickened the industry of other nations, which till then had been extremely confined. The natural owners of the riches of America had little left but the duties of the fifth, the indulto, guarda costas, customs and commifions ; which have enhanced the value of the commodities ; but this no further affects the foreign merchants, than as it reduces the consumption ; for it all falls upon the Peruvians and Mexicans, who are the consumers. It is by this means that the gold and silver which America has poured into Europe have got into many hands, and are more equally distributed.

IN vain were all foreign nations excluded from trading in any of the American ports, by a severe law enacted by Ferdinand and Isabella, and confirmed by their successors. The more imperious law of necessity has superseded this regulation, which was intended to be perpetual, and has thrown all that trade into foreign hands. Out of about fifty millions (2,188,000*l.*) worth of commodities and merchandise that are annually shipped off from Cadiz for the West Indies, scarce one eighth is Spanish property. The rest belongs to others nations, friends, or foes, sent in the name of Spaniards, who



who are always true to private persons and always false to the law. The honesty of the Spaniards, which has never been attained, has been a security to foreigners in this trade. BOOK  
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GOVERNMENT, who could not be ignorant of the mischiefs arising from these perpetual breaches of the law, thought to obviate them by a more absurd one than the former. They prohibited, upon pain of capital punishment, the exportation of gold and silver ; as if the Spaniards were not obliged to pay for what they wanted to buy. When the execution of this law was enforced, the Spaniard who is the factor at Cadiz for other nations, delivered the bullion to some bravoës, called *Meteors*, who being well armed, went upon the ramparts with the bullion all numbered, and tossed it down to other meteors, who carried it to the boats that were waiting for it. They were never disturbed by the factors, the custom-house officers or the guards, who all came in for a share in the fraud, justified by the iniquity of the law ; and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The prohibition of exporting gold and silver was to so little purpose, that though a prodigious quantity came over every year from America, there was very little seen in the kingdom. Greater severity would only have advanced the price of goods, by increasing the difficulty of paying for them. If, in conformity to the strictness of the proclamations, the delinquent had been apprehended, tried, and condemned to death, and all his goods forfeited ; such an atrocious deed, far from preventing, would only have increased the sending money out of the kingdom ; because those who had before been content with a moderate profit, would require more when the risque was greater, and would have sent away more money, that they might get the more.

THE court of Madrid has at last been convinced of the pernicious tendency of this tyranny. The ancient govern-

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governments, who had a due respect for the laws, would certainly have repealed any one, if they had found that the observance of it was absolutely impossible: In our modern times, when kingdoms are governed more by the caprice of administration than by rational principles, Spain has only agreed of late years, that the foreign trade should have all the profit of the goods it should send to America, only paying three per cent. The money was to be transmitted by bankers, settled for that purpose in the principal cities of Europe. The object of the ministry was, to make themselves masters of the trade of piastres, and consequently of the exchange. This plan, which was, perhaps, more extensive than just, has not succeeded. The agents they had made choice of, have betrayed the trust reposed in them. The court of Spain has not persisted in propping up this tottering edifice. Every private man is now at liberty to draw his money from Spain, upon paying the accustomed duties, which in the year 1768 were advanced from three to four per cent. If they were more moderate, government would derive greater advantages from them. There are certain times when the Spanish smugglers can bring the piastres on board the ships, for a price below the stated value and it may easily be imagined those opportunities are eagerly seized.

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WHILST the mother country was drooping, the colonies could not possibly thrive. If the Spaniards had understood their true interest, they would, perhaps, on the first discovery of America, have been content with establishing an honest intercourse with the Indians, which would have settled a mutual dependence, and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the old world, would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the new; and wrought iron would have been changed for its weight of unwrought silver. A lasting union, the necessary consequence of a peace-  
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able traffic, would have been established without bloodshed or devastation. Spain would equally have been mistress of Mexico and Peru; for any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not impart the process and exercise of them, will always have an evident superiority over another that buys their produce.

THEY did not proceed upon these principles. The ease with which they had subdued the Indians, the ascendant that Charles V. assumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, the particular temper of the Spaniards, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all these and many other causes, prevented them from giving good laws, a sound administration, and a solid basis to their American conquests at first settling out.

THE depopulation of America was the deplorable effect of this confusion. The first steps of the conquerors were marked with streams of blood. Astonished as much at their own victories, as the savages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their success, they resolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations vanished from the face of the earth at the arrival of these barbarians; and all their abominable cruelties have been hitherto imputed to the thirst of gold, joined with fanaticism.

BUT the savage nature of man, which was not restrained by the dread of punishment, or by any sense of shame, or awed by the presence of civilized witnesses, might so far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organisation similar to their own, an analogy which is the basis of all moral duties, as to induce them to treat their new-discovered brethren as they did the wild beasts of the other hemisphere; and to do it with as little remorse; that the cruelty of the military spirit is apt to increase in proportion to past, present, and future dangers: that the soldier is of a more sanguinary



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sanguinary disposition in remote countries than at home ; and that the feelings of humanity will wear off, as a man goes further from his native country. It may likewise be conjectured that the Spaniards, who, on their first landing, were taken for Gods, might be afraid of being detected and murdered ; that they mistrusted the marks of kindness that were shewn them ; that when once they had begun to shed blood, they thought their own safety required that they should proceed on the same plan ; that their handful of men, surrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whose language they did not understand, and whose customs and manners they were strangers to, were seized with a panic, either well or ill grounded. But the most incomprehensible circumstance in all this matter is the stupid barbarity of government, that countenanced all those horrors, and kept those profligate men in pay to persecute and destroy their brethren.

THE Spaniards, the descendents or slaves of the Visigoths, like them divided amongst themselves the desert lands, and the men who had escaped their sword. Most of these wretched victims did not long survive, in a state of slavery worse than death. The laws that were enacted from time to time to alleviate the hardships of their servitude, proved but a small relief. The savage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miserable Indians.

THE mines proved still a greater cause of destruction. Ever since the discovery of America, the Spaniards had attended to nothing but this species of wealth. In vain did some sensible men, wiser than the generality of the age, exclaim against this insatiation. Let the gold remain where it is, said they, provided the surface of the earth the covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will

will make bread, or a blade of grass to feed your sheep. **BOOK IV.**  
The only metal you want is iron. Work it into saws, hammers, and plough-shares, but not into murderous weapons. The quantity of gold requisite for the purposes of exchange is so little, that it is needless to lay in an immense stock. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth are represented by a pound of gold or by twenty pounds. The Spaniards have done like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in going after it.

UNFORTUNATELY the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Those ill-fated men were sent to work under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of free and wholesome air, of the chief supports of life, and of the comfort of weeping with their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in those dark mansions, which now contain more ashes of the dead than gold dust. If we consider this barbarous treatment, we cannot but be astonished to hear the covetous and stupid Spaniards complain that the Indians will not tell them of several mines they have discovered both before and since the conquest. Those wretched people would only multiply the means of their own destruction, by betraying the secret they have received from their fathers, or that chance has thrown in their way.

THE unhappy Indians whom chance had submitted to the yoke, have therefore fled in great numbers from the lands they cultivated for their rapacious masters, and taken refuge among the savages who wander in the forests and deserts of the Cordeleras. Those impenetrable recesses are become the asylum of multitudes of Indians, who constantly threaten the Spanish provinces with sudden invasion or open war. They contract a ferociousness in those rough climates, which makes them so formidable, that the Spaniards have been obliged

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ed to forsake some very rich mines, that lay within reach of their inroads. The deficiencies in their population, occasioned by the barrenness of the soil, the want of forecast, and of the resources of society, are made up by a constant supply of fugitives, who fly from European tyranny. It is in these mountains that a race is secretly regenerating, which will one day assert their lawful rights, and recover their liberty and property out of the cruel and rapacious hands of the usurper; and, perhaps, that day is not far off.

ANOTHER cause of depopulation is, that the Europeans have taught them new wants, whilst they robbed them of the means of satisfying them. Before the conquest, the Indians went naked, or made their own garments, which was their employment, and a kind of trade. Their whole care was to cultivate a field of maize. They had no occasion for money, and all their traffic consisted in exchanging one thing for another. Since the Indian has been taught to live in society, he must have lodging and food, and often have recourse to foreign goods for his clothing. For want of arts and trades, he is unable to purchase these necessaries. He falls into a state of despondency; and if he did not, his labour would hardly bring in enough for his unavoidable expences; so that, the luxury and the poverty which oppress him, have reduced him to the necessity of living in a solitary manner, and to give up all thoughts of his posterity.

THIS cause of depopulation brought on another still more dreadful, which made all Europe shudder. The celebrated Drake, having taken the town of St. Domingo in 1586, found that the islanders were grown so desperate, that, rather than see their children fall into the hands of the conqueror, they were unanimously come to a resolution to have no connection with their wives. This is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, and a standing monument of Spanish tyranny, which

which not only shed the blood of the fathers, but prevented the existence of the unborn. What else could the Americans oppose to the thirst of destruction than this horrid vow of ceasing to regenerate?

FROM this period there seemed to be a curse upon the land. The empire founded by those barbarous conquerors soon fell to pieces. Profligacy made a rapid progress. The most important fortresses mouldered away. The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed became beggars or thieves. The very elements of war and navigation were forgotten; and the very names of the instruments made use of in those two necessary arts.

TRADE was but the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to go into the kings coffers, were continually pilfered, and reduced to a fourth part of what they should have been. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, joined to hinder truth from reaching the throne, or to save the prevaricators who were obnoxious to the law. The highest and lowest magistrates always acted in concert, to support each other in their injustice.

THE confusion occasioned by all these robberies, introduced the fatal expedient of all ill-governed states, that of numberless taxes; as if government were determined to discourage industry at any rate.

IGNORANCE kept pace with injustice. "I saw, says a celebrated traveller, the very same sentence passed in one and the same tribunal, and almost within the same hour, in two cases that were directly opposite. All endeavours to make the judges understand the difference was to no purpose. At last the chief judge, seeming to be convinced, rose up, and tucking up his whiskers, swore by the holy virgin, and all the saints, that the English Lutherans had run away with *pope* Justinian's

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“*Juslinian’s* books, which he always made use of to try intricate causes: but if those dogs should ever come again, he would have them all burnt.

THE same traveller relates that “one day Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* fell into the hands of a creole, he carried it to a friar, who understood no more of it than himself, and made the inhabitants believe it was an English bible: he proved it by the prints he shewed them at every *Metamorphosis*, saying; see how those dogs worship the devil, and how he transforms them into beasts. Then the pretended bible was thrown into a fire kindled on purpose; and the monk made a long oration, which consisted of thanksgivings to St. Francis for this lucky discovery.”

As ignorance is always favourable to superstition, the ministers of religion, without being more enlightened than others, took the lead in all business. As they were less liable to punishment, they were always the first to violate all principles of equity, and all rules of morality and decency. The best among them were traders, and the rest took advantage of their ecclesiastical power to extort from the Indians all they were possessed of. A Spanish monk who did not make at least a hundred thousand livres (4,375*l.*) in a short trip to America was reckoned an ill manager. Their rapaciousness was often voluntarily gratified at their arrival by presents of immense value. One would have imagined that America had been conquered for no other purpose than to ornament the churches and to enrich the clergy.

THE hatred that commenced between the Spaniards born in America, and those who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of these unhappy divisions. The Creoles were represented to them as little better than barbarians, and much the same as Indians. They thought they could

could not depend upon their skill, their courage or their fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of trust and profit. They were offended at this injurious resolution. Far from endeavouring to sooth them, those who were invested with authority over them, made it their business to exasperate them by mortifying partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between the two classes, one of which was loaded with favours, and the other stigmatized with disgrace. This animosity has broke out more than once in such a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother country in the new world; and will some time or other occasion a revolution. These revolutions will certainly take place, and, perhaps, are not far off; for the clergy on both sides, who have adopted the same hatred and animosities, will never forego them, and will endeavour according to the spirit that has always actuated them to make the people irreconcilable.

SINCE the accession of the Bourbon family to the throne of Charles V. these disorders, and the evils arising from them, have abated a little. The nobility do not affect those high airs of royalty which often perplexed the government. The management of public affairs is not now confined to persons of high birth, but is given to men in favour, men of fortune or of merit. The produce of the general and provincial revenues of Spain, which a detestable administration had reduced to less than eight millions (350,000*l.*) towards the latter end of the last century, now brings in 72,656,805 livres. (3,178,735*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) This happy change which began by the mother country, extended afterwards to the colonies. The three departments that are intrusted with the management of their affairs in Europe, have gradually lost something of that evil spirit which seemed to preside over their proceedings. The council for

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Indian affairs being removed, takes better care of their government and preservation. The contraction removed from Seville to Cadiz, manages their trade with greater skill. The consulate, which takes cognizance of the differences arising between the merchants trading to that part of America, and is appointed to watch over the maintenance of their privileges, has acquired a greater degree of activity and knowledge.

THESE first steps towards a reformation must be an encouragement to the Spanish ministry to hope they will attain to a good administration, when once they are acquainted with the true principles, and employ the proper means. The character of the nation is not an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to them as we imagine. If we look back to the times when this unfavourable prejudice was first conceived, we shall find that this languor did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was idle at home, she was not so abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in a great measure from foolish pride. Because the nobility did nothing, the people imagined it was noble to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one despises from a motive of pride, what the others seek after from vanity; the conveniences of life. The climate makes the Spaniard abstemious, and indigence renders him more so. The monkish spirit, which has long governed him, makes a virtue of that poverty which is the result of vice. As he has nothing, he covets nothing; but he hates work still more than he despises riches:

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THAT poor and proud people have nothing left of BOOK  
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 their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that has the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas, and with an immense prospect of glory. The satisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown since the abasement of the grantees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with respect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made subservient to their happiness. Some means might be contrived to persuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will soon become again what it was before the discovery of America, in those glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

WHEN the imagination of the people is once properly directed, and they are brought to blush at their proud inaction, other evils must be attended to. The most dangerous to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increase the population of the mother country, which on her side promotes the increase of theirs, by supplying them with advantageous marts for the produce of their industry. It is on this plan, alike interesting to humanity and sound policy, that the more enlightened nations of Europe have formed their settlements in America. This wise and noble design has in all parts been crowned with success. Spain alone, which had formed her system in a darker age, has seen her population decrease at home, in proportion as her possessions increased abroad.

WHEN the disproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually restored by activity, oeconomy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace.



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Spain, whose population, in the year 1747, amounted to no more than 7,423,590 souls, including 180,046 ecclesiastics; and who has now in her colonies little more than the twentieth part of the population there was soon after the conquest, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad without new and extraordinary efforts. To increase the laborious classes of men, there must be a reduction of the clergy, which alike enervates and devours the state. Two thirds of her military forces must be dismissed, and restored to the arts; since her connection with France, and the weakness of Portugal, no longer render them necessary. As their clear revenue is 112,000,000, (4,900,000*l.*) and the standing out-goings are but 96,000,000, (4,200,000*l.*) government must think seriously of easing the people, as soon as their possessions in both hemispheres are extricated from that confusion into which they had been thrown, by two whole centuries of incapacity, ignorance and tyranny. Above all things, the infamous tribunal of the inquisition must be abolished, which seems to be levelled equally against the monarch and the people, by keeping both under the yoke of stupid and blind superstition.

SUPERSTITION, whatever may be the reason of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. No doubt it proceeds from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its causes or of its remedy. At least this is enough to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, sickness, unforeseen accidents, destructive phænomena, all the latent causes of pain and death, are so universal on earth, that it would be very surprising if man had not been deeply affected by them at all times and in all countries.

BUT this natural fear must always have increased, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and sensibility.

sibility. It must have given rise to the worship of the elements that do most mischief on earth, such as inundations, conflagrations and plagues; the worship of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always hurtful; the worship of men who have done the greatest mischief to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impostors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; the worship of invisible and imaginary beings supposed to lie concealed in every instrument of mischief. Meditation and the study of nature must have insensibly lessened the number of these invisible agents, and the human mind must have risen from idolatry to theism; but this last simple and sublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confused in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

REVELATION had confirmed the pure doctrine of one only being; and, perhaps, a more incorrupt religion would then have been established, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own sacred prejudices, which could not be dispelled but by other fables. Unfortunately christianity was preached to minds incapable of understanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unless it was attended with that pomp and shew, of which ignorance is so fond. Interest loaded and disfigured it more and more, inventing every day new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were less credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and contesting about the several provinces of universal monarchy, which one nation had formed in less than two hundred years, admitted without examination all the errors which the priests, after much controversy, had agreed to teach the multitude.

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BUT the clergy, too numerous to agree long, had cherished the seeds of division, which they must sooner or later communicate to the people. The time came when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that devoured the whole church, rose up with great animosity against many superstitions that were universally adopted.

As it was from custom that the people had received all those puerile notions with which they had suffered themselves to be soothed, and as they were not attached to them from national principles or party spirit, those who were most interested in supporting them, were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that steadiness that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing so much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and pass his own judgment, upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude was incapable of undertaking this discussion, every one was proud of managing his own concerns in so great and important an affair. The commotion was so general, that it is not improbable the new opinions would every where have triumphed over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme magistracy, as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of its authority. Monarchs were afraid that those who had once overturned the old and firm foundations of Romish hierarchy, might next proceed to examine into their own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among the reformed, contributed to increase this distrust.

THE kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by establishing

blishing a more uniform system of superstition. They were not aware that the opinions of men concerning an unknown Being cannot be all alike. In vain did reason expostulate with those weak monarchs, alledging that no power had a right to prescribe to men what they were to think; that society, in order to support itself, is under no necessity of restraining the freedom of the soul; and that to compel men to subscribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a false oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conscience, in order that he may be a faithful subject; and that a citizen who serves his country, is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpose. These permanent and incontestable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the prospect of a great advantage, and still more by the furious outcries of a multitude of fanatical priests who delayed not to assume the supreme authority. The prince, become the slave of these priests, was forced to abandon his subjects to their caprices; to suffer them to be oppressed, and to become idle spectators of the cruelties exercised against them. From that time superstitious manners, beneficial only to the priesthood, became prejudicial to society. A people thus corrupt and degenerate, were the most cruel of all people. Their obedience to the monarch was subordinate to the will of the priest; who oppressed every other power, and was in fact the sovereign of the state.

INACTION was the necessary consequence of a superstition that enervated all the faculties of the soul. The project which the Romans formed from their very infancy of becoming masters of the world, shewed itself even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herself, that were their gods. A nation that aimed at treading in their steps, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkish government, which has destroyed

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every prospect of success, and will effectually prevent their restoration either in Spain or in America, unless this kind of government itself is totally subverted. The suppression of the inquisition must certainly hasten this great change; and it is pleasing to think that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this necessary step, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will insert it as the first article in a treaty of peace, that *the autos-da-fé shall be abolished in all the Spanish dominions both at home and abroad.*

THOUGH this measure is necessary towards the restoration of the monarchy, it is not alone sufficient. Though Spain has been more assiduous to conceal her weakness, than she need have been to acquire strength, the world is not unacquainted with her infirmities. They are of such long standing, and of so deplorable a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If she will but submit to accept them, she will soon see her provinces in both hemispheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them a thousand branches of industry. The northern and southern nations, actuated by that passion of riches which is the characteristic of our age, will flock to the regions that are thrown open to their emulation. The fortune of the public will keep pace with private fortunes. Those of foreigners will become national wealth, if those who have amassed them can enjoy them with such safety, comfort and distinction, as to forget their native country.

If the Spaniards mean to bring this great work to a speedy issue, they must not only admit strangers of their own persuasion, but encourage every sect without distinction to come and settle among them. They have too long thought that liberty of conscience must be founded on the most monstrous impiety, and that toleration was even impolitic, as the fundamental principle

ple of all sects was to detest one another, and sooner or later to distract the governments where they multiplied. If the heathen had reasoned in this manner, christianity would never have been established ; at least it is evident that their persecutions against the founders of our religion would need no apology.

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WHEN the Spaniards have once got people to work, they will employ them in the most advantageous manner. They were grieved to see the treasures of America go into the hands of their rivals and enemies, and imagined the only way to keep some at home, would be to revive their own manufactures. Those of their writers upon finance who have insisted upon this system, appear to us to be in the wrong. As long as the people who are in possession of those manufactures which serve to supply the demands of America, shall attend to the preservation of them, the manufactures, which may be attempted to be established in other parts, will scarce be able to vie with them. They may possibly procure the materials and workmanship as cheap, but it will be a long time before they can work as quick, and attain to the same degree of perfection. Nothing could effect this great change, but such a revolution as would remove the best foreign workmen and the most skilful artists to Spain. Till this period arrives which does not seem very near, any attempts that are made, will not turn out successfully. A very instructive experiment has been made of this point, when the exportation of unwrought goods was prohibited. The prohibition on silks only served to lessen the goodness of them, the working of them was neglected, and would have totally fallen, had not government wisely restored trade to its ancient freedom.

WE may go further still, and venture to affirm, that though it should be in the power of Spain to procure a security in the manufactures respecting articles of luxury, she ought not to do it. A transient  
success

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success would be attended with irretrievable ruin. Let us for once suppose that the monarchy can furnish all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immense treasures this trade will bring in, will all center in home circulation, and the consequence will be, that money will sink in value. This plenty of cash will certainly occasion a dearth of provisions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion left between Spain and the neighbouring nations. These, as they will be able to afford their commodities cheaper, will force the Spaniards to take them, because an exorbitant profit will surmount every obstacle. The latter, wanting employment, must go and seek it elsewhere, and Spain will at once lose her industry and her population.

SINCE then it is impossible that the Spaniards should keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and as they must unavoidably share it with the rest of Europe, their whole policy must tend to preserve the greatest share, to keep the balance inclining to their side, and not to make their own advantages excessive, that they may be permanent. This superiority will be secured by the practice of the necessary arts, and the plenty and goodness of their natural productions.

THE Spanish ministry have been aware of this, but have been mistaken in thinking that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is an undeniable truth, that the manufactures do promote the culture of lands. They are even necessary, wherever the expence of carriage stops the circulation and consumption of the produce, so that the cultivator is at a loss how to dispose of his commodities. But in all other cases, the cultivator can do without the encouragement of the manufactures. If he can but dispose of his produce, he cares little whether it is for local consumption,

or

or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage. BOOK  
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SPAIN annually sells for exportation, in wool, silk, oil, wine, iron and kali, to the amount of above thirty millions. (1,312,500*l.*) These exports, most of which cannot be replaced from any soil in Europe, are susceptible of great increase, and might, probably, be more than doubled. They will suffice, independent of the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be consumed in the nation. We grant that by thus sending their unwrought produce abroad, they will increase the population, the wealth and the power of other nations; but they will cherish a more certain and more beneficial kind of industry at home. Their political existence will soon claim a relative superiority, and the cultivating nation will have the advantage over the manufacturing nations.

AMERICA will greatly enhance this superiority; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and silver, and by her commodities.

It appears from the most moderate computation, that those valuable colonies have poured into the mother country, from 1492 to 1740, that is, in the compass of 248 years, upwards of 9000,000,000 of piastres, (2,025,000,000*l.*) the smallest part of which has remained to the natural owners; the rest has spread all over Europe; or been carried into Asia. From the first of January 1754 to the last day of December 1764, we need not trust to conjecture. Within that period, Spain has received,

Means which Spain ought to employ for the re-establishment of its colonies.

FROM Vera Cruz, in gold, 3,151,354 piastres 5 reals; (709,054*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*) and in silver, 85,899,307 piastres 2 reals. (19,327,344*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*)

FROM Lima, in gold, 10,942,846 piastres 3 reals; (2,462,140*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*) in silver, 24,868,745 piastres 3 reals. (5,595,467*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*)

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FROM Buenos Ayres, in gold, 2,142,626 piaftres 3 reals; (482,090*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*) in filver, 10,326,090 piaftres 8 reals. (2,323,370*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*)

FROM Carthagena, in gold, 10,045,188 piaftres 8 reals; (2,260,165*l.* 8*s.*) in filver, 1,702,174 piaftres 3 reals. (382,989*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*)

FROM Honduras, in gold, 37,254 piaftres 9 reals; (8,382*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*) in filver, 677,444 piaftres 7 reals. (152,425*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*)

FROM the Havannah, in gold, 656,064 piaftres 3 reals; (147,614*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*) in filver, 2,639,408 piaftres 2 reals. (593,866*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*)

FROM Caracca, in gold, 52,034 piaftres 3 reals; (11,707*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*) in filver, 276,002 piaftres 6 reals. (62,100*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*)

FROM St. Domingo and Porto Rico, in gold, 526 piaftres 5 reals; (118*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*) in filver, 317,521 piaftres 1 real. (71,442*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*)

FROM Campeachy, Cumana, and Maracaibo, in gold, 91,564 piaftres 6 reals. (20,602*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS makes in all 27,027,896 piaftres in gold, (6,081,276*l.* 7*s.*) and 126,798,258 piaftres 8 reals (28,529,608*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*) in filver. Thefe two fums put together, amount to a total of 153,826,154 piaftres 8 reals. (34,610,884*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*) This fum divided by eleven, will fhew that the returns, upon an average, have been 13,984,185 piaftres and 3 fourths. (3,146,441*l.* 19*s.*) To all thefe riches muft be added thofe that are not registered to avoid paying duty, which may amount to fomewhat more than one fourth of what is registered; and it will appear that the mother country annually receives from her colonies about feventeen millions of piaftres, or 19,250,000 livres. (about 3,904,600*l.*)

THERE would be a poffibility of increafing this produce. For this purpofe the government fhould fend  
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over to America some persons skilled in metallurgy, and abate something of the terms on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a transient advantage, for this plain reason, that gold and silver are not riches, but only the representatives of them. These signs are very durable, as they ought to be to answer their destination. The more they are multiplied, the more they lose of their value, because they represent fewer things. In proportion as they are grown more common since the discovery of America, every thing is grown twice, thrice, and four times as dear as before. The produce of the mines has been worth less and less, and the expence of working them has been continually increasing. The balance, which inclines more and more to the losing side, may so far destroy the equipoise, that it may be found necessary to drop this source of wealth. But at all events, it will be advisable to render these operations more simple, and to try every possible method to make this labour less destructive to the human race than it has been hitherto. There is another source of prosperity for Spain, which will be so far from decaying, that it will daily gather new strength; and that is agriculture.

ALL nations have found it dangerous to allow the establishment of manufactures in their possessions in America, but they have all encouraged culture by every possible means. If Spain adopts so rational a principle, she will probably save twelve or thirteen millions that are annually expended in the single article of spices. It is hardly possible that in all that vast extent of land and that variety of climates, there should not be some spots in America fit for the culture of cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and other aromatics of Asia. It is certain that cinnamon grows at Quito, and cultivation might give it the properties it wants.

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WHETHER these experiments succeed or not, they may certainly cultivate coffee, which is more and more used in Europe; cotton, which our manufactures are frequently in want of; and sugar, which Spain buys to the amount of about five millions (218,750*l.*) a year, whereas she ought to supply all Europe with it.

MANY provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent silks, which were manufactured at Seville. This commodity has been lost, by the many obstructions that were thrown in its way; but it might easily be revived and improved.

THE Vicuna wool is in great request in all nations. What the fleets bring home, falls far short of the demand. The sort of sheep that bears this fine wool, might easily be multiplied in the climates that are fittest for them.

THE excessive dearth of cochineal, and the great demand there is for it every where, points out to Spain the necessity of multiplying it.

BUT what ought above all things to be encouraged, is the vine and the olive tree, the cultivation of which is not allowed only in one part of Peru. Some small wandering nations might be fixed by this labour. If they were properly distributed, they would serve to establish an intercourse between the several colonies, now separated by immense and uninhabited regions. The laws, which have no power over men who are at too great a distance from each other and from the magistrate, could then be enforced. Commerce would not be perpetually interrupted by the impossibility of conveying the goods to the place of their destination, even at a great expence. In case of a war, early notice would be given of the danger, and speedy and effectual assistance procured. If Spain were hereby deprived of some few exports, this trifling loss would be greatly over-

over-balanced by the most solid advantages. The easiest part of the labour we recommend, would fall to the lot of the natives, who are too indolent, and, perhaps, too weak to go through harder work. The rest would be reserved for the more active robust African slaves.

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THIS foreign aid was thought of in the first years after the discovery of America, but was soon prohibited from an apprehension that the blacks corrupted the Americans, and might excite them to revolt. Las Casas, who incessantly laboured to promote the happiness of the Indians, obtained a repeal of that law, as thinking it prejudicial to their preservation. At that period, a favourite obtained an exclusive grant for carrying four thousand negroes to the Leeward islands. He sold this privilege to the Genoese, who made an ill use of their monopoly. This odious trade was successively in the hands of the Castilians, the Portuguese, the French, and the English. It is at last come back to the Spaniards, who carry it on in the least advantageous way for the interest of their country. Their most dangerous enemies become their agents, and all their connections are with British subjects.

If political considerations can justify a trade so repugnant to humanity, Spain ought to carry it on without the assistance of foreigners; and must not be discouraged by the want of forts on the coast of Africa. This obstacle may be surmounted by receiving directly from the East Indies the commodities that are fit for those barbarous regions; by giving bounties to encourage the introduction of negroes into the Spanish colonies, instead of clogging it with duties. Then those countries, which have so long been in a drooping condition, will all revive; and their produce, which at present does not exceed twenty-seven or twenty-eight millions of livres (on an average 1,283,125*l.*) a year, will know

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bounds, but such as will be prescribed by the whole consumption of Spain and of all Europe.

WHEN government has put the working of the mines upon a better footing, and improved the culture of the American provinces, the next thing to be attended to will be, how to convey those riches to the mother country. Experience must have taught her that the vigilance of her *guarda costas*, and the fidelity of her commanders are often and easily eluded by the contraband trade.

ALL the nations whose settlements are within reach of the Spanish colonies, have always sought, by fraudulent means, to appropriate to themselves the treasures and produce of that indolent nation. The Portuguese have turned their views towards the river Plata; the Danes, the French, and the Dutch, upon the coast of Carthagená and Porto Bello. The subjects of Great Britain, who were not unacquainted with all those ways, have found in the cessions made to them by the last treaty, a ready way of getting a larger share of those rich spoils. They have all carried their point, by deceiving or bribing the *guarda costas*; but the English, sure of being countenanced by government, have openly and by force, in full peace, carried on an illicit trade into foreign countries, which in their own is punished with death. This kind of trade is so openly authorized by their naval force, that there is actually a public contract between the navy and the merchants, whereby the man of war is intitled to five per cent. on the sale made by the interloper, as a reward for protecting him.

THE governors are still more remiss in their duty than the *guarda costas*. Though corruption is carried beyond all bounds in Spain, it is still worse in the Indies. From the viceroys down to the lowest custom-house officers, not one goes to America with the least principle

principle of patriotism about him. They have all bought their places; and are desirous of making the most of them; every one is in haste to make his fortune, the only motive that induced him to leave his country; every one will have an adequate compensation for the danger he has exposed himself to by a change of climate. They must improve every instant of time, as they seldom keep their places longer than three or five years. One would think the court of Madrid, not being able to prevent this extortion, has sought to render it less odious, by making it more general.

EVERY mode of acquiring riches is deemed lawful. The most common is to permit the contraband trade, and even to be concerned in it. It is easy, expeditious and pleasant. In America none oppose it, because it suits every person. If the complaints of some European merchants reach the court, the matter is soon hushed up by some timely gratuities to ministers, confessors, mistresses, or favourites. The delinquent not only escapes punishment, but is rewarded. Nothing is so well established or so generally known as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered, says his friend, you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of the plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

THE question is how to eradicate abuses of such a long standing. As long as the management that has given rise to them shall subsist, the smuggler will carry on his trade, and those who are appointed to prevent it will protect him. Spain will never restore good order, but by lowering the duties, and altering her method of intercourse with her colonies.

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THE Spaniards, whose situation will not admit of their manufacturing all they want to supply their American colonies, must appropriate to themselves the labours of every nation in Europe. They must consider themselves as merchants in the midst of manufacturers. They must supply them with materials; pay them a reasonable price for their labour, by making a proper allowance for the additional value their industry has given to the natural productions; and then they must dispose of them to the best advantage to the several consumers.

THESE maxims are too simple to have escaped them; but they have made a wrong application of them. They have always been misled by their wants or their eagerness after gain. They have constantly separated the interests of the crown from those of the people, and, therefore, have found no impropriety in laying the duties too high. None of their ministers seem to have considered, that the riches of the people are the true riches of the state. Possibly, they may have been so blind as to imagine, that the burden of these duties fell upon the original owners of the goods. We can hardly doubt their acting upon this principle, when we see that every intimation for lowering the duties has been rejected, as ruinous to the monarchy. That pernicious spirit of finance, which spoils more and more the trade of Europe, has damped the direct intercourse that was formerly carried on between the mother country and her colonies. The contraband trade has grown brisker in proportion as the duties have been raised; but it will be put an end to, whenever the tariff is settled at a moderate rate, and navigation is freed from those fetters which impede its progress.

THOSE who are of opinion that the common method of fleets and galleons is the best, have been misled by custom, which is so apt to govern the opinions of most men.

men. They were not aware that this tedious method would necessarily prove destructive. The illicit traders, informed by their emissaries of the wants of the colonies, and abundantly provided with all they can be in need of, always arrive before the Spanish ships, who, finding the storehouses full, are forced to sell under prime cost; or, which is still worse, cannot sell at all. If, to prevent this inconvenience, they are sent out later, this is an additional encouragement to the smugglers, who are always alert, and continually pouring in fresh supplies.

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To prevent this ruinous competition, it has often been proposed to the Spanish government to establish trading companies for the commerce of America; but the court of Madrid has always rejected this scheme, as a pernicious monopoly, worse, perhaps, than the toleration of an illicit trade. Though ignorant of the true principles, they were sensible that exclusive privileges, always prejudicial even to the most active nations, must necessarily prove ruinous to one, whose industry is not sufficiently quickened.

NOTHING but an entire freedom in the trade from Cadiz, can put an effectual stop to smuggling, and give commerce all the scope it will admit of. It is the interest of Spain, as well as of all other nations that have colonies in America, to carry thither great quantities of the produce and commodities of Europe, and to bring home much of those of America. These measures are inseparably connected. The one is impossible without the other, and both are inconsistent with restraint.

THE colonies will find a great advantage in this system, which will bring plenty into their ports. A competition among many sellers, ever was and ever will be an advantage to the buyer.

By this happy change, the mother country will appease the murmurs of some persons, who have grown discontented



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tented either because they have been left unprovided with the necessaries of life, or have been forced to pay an extravagant price for them. The cheapness of all commodities will occasion the fall of some manufactures, which had been set up out of mere necessity, and which could not safely be put down by authority. She will turn the labours of industry towards agriculture, which will then become, as it ought to be, the most profitable employment. Lastly, she will double, and, perhaps, treble her navigation, which is now so slow in its operations, as to endanger public property, and too often expose it to fall into the hands of an enemy.

ALL the European nations that are concerned in this trade, will carry it on to better advantage. If the method of carrying it on by a fleet of ships, which limits the quantity of goods that may be shipped at Cadiz, is more favourable to the few merchants concerned in that business, a freedom to every one to send over as much as he pleases, on paying the duties, will reduce the price and increase the consumption of the commodities. More trade will then be carried on in Europe. The profit of each nation will be greater, though that of each private man will be less. The first of these advantages is infinitely preferable to the last.

WE are sensible that this free trade, which we think absolutely necessary, will no sooner be opened, but it will be carried to excess by a boundless emulation. This must be expected from the eagerness and imprudence of the merchants. Perhaps, it may be beneficial. The mother country will have exported a greater quantity of her produce, and received richer returns. The colonists, encouraged by the cheapness of the goods, will allow themselves some indulgencies they never could yet afford, will feel new wants, and consequently will apply themselves to new labours. Traders, after some losses,

losses, will be more circumspect and more diligent. Even supposing that too great a competition could ever be a real evil, it could never be a lasting one. To endeavour to prevent it by laws that would be destructive of all freedom, would be the means of preventing a happy revolution by a perpetual oppression. As soon as Spain is undeceived, the trade of her colonies will no longer be a mere monopoly, her religion mere superstition, and her government absolute tyranny. Her good example and a happy rivalry, may, possibly, induce Portugal, which has hitherto shewn very little more prudence than Spain, to adopt the same plan of reformation with regard to the Brazils.

B O O K  
IV.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

## B O O K V.

*Settlement of the Portuguese in the Brazils. The wars they have sustained there. Produce and riches of that colony.*

B O O K  
V.

Discovery  
of the Bra-  
zils by the  
Portu-  
guese.

**B**RAZIL is an immense continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the South by Paraguay, on the west by a long ridge of mountains that divide it from Peru, and on the east by the northern ocean. The extent of the sea coast is supposed to be no less than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to ~~form~~ <sup>form</sup> any estimate of their extent. A succession of hills runs all along from north to south, from whence issue many large rivers, some of which fall into the ocean, and some into the Plata.

IF Columbus, in his third voyage in 1499, had turned his course to the south, when he came to the entrance of the Oroonoko, he could not have failed of finding the Brazils; but he chose to steer to the north-west, towards the gulph that lies between that river and Florida. The settlements already made there, the gold they produced, and the hopes of finding a way to the East Indies, were so many inducements to pursue that track.

PETER ALVAREZ CABRAL had the honour of making that discovery the following year by chance. That Portuguese admiral was going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, he kept so far out, that  
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he came within sight of an unknown land lying to westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who used it in dying.

As this country had been discovered in going to the Indies, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of them, it was at first comprised under the same denomination, but was distinguished by the appellation of West Indies, because the Portuguese went to the India by the east, and to the Brazils by the west. This name was afterwards extended to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philosophers, who have been desirous of tracing their origin from nature, and not from casual circumstances, merely accessory, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the objects denoted by them. Nothing can be more strange, for instance, than to see Europe transplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent.

THE court of Lisbon ordered a survey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coasts of Brazil, but finding the country afforded neither gold nor silver, they despised it to such a degree, as to send thither none but men obnoxious to the laws, and abandoned women.

Two ships were sent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinet makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but

Account of  
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**BOOK** was soon prohibited, as being detrimental to the India  
**V.** trade.

ASIA was then the great object of pursuit. It was the high road to fortune and preferment. The splendid exploits of the Portuguese, and the wealth they brought from India, gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of the world, as every individual wished to partake of. The enthusiasm was general. No person, indeed, went over voluntarily to America, but those unfortunate men whom the inquisition had doomed to destruction were added to the convicts already transported thither.

THE Portuguese have always entertained the most inveterate hatred against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this national antipathy, which is of so long a standing that its origin cannot be traced, and so confirmed that it can never be expected to subside, they have borrowed most of their maxims from a neighbour, whose power they dreaded as much as they detested their manners. Whether from a similarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumstances, they have adopted the very worst of their institutions. They could not imitate any thing more horrid than the inquisition.

THIS bloody tribunal, erected in Spain 1482, by a mixture of policy and fanaticism, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was no sooner adopted by John III, than it struck terror into every family. To establish its authority, and afterwards to maintain it, no less than four or five hundred victims were annually sacrificed, a tenth of whom were burnt alive, and the rest banished to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against those who were suspected of pæderasty: a crime of later date in the kingdom, and not uncommon in those hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It also prosecuted sorcerers,  
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the existence of which was believed and dreaded in those times of ignorance, and the number of them multiplied all over Europe, by the credulity and bigotry of a barbarous age. The Mahometans, though greatly decreased since they had lost the empire, were also persecuted by the inquisition; and more especially the Jews, because they were the richest.

It is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a little wretched corner of the earth, were dispersed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were suffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This first act of oppression did not prevent twenty thousand Jewish families from removing thither, when after the conquest of Grenada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres (17*s*. 6*d*.) for the liberty of settling in Portugal. Superstition soon induced John II. to aggravate the sufferings of that persecuted nation: he demanded of them 20,000 crowns, (2,625*l*.) and afterwards reduced them to a state of slavery. In 1496, Emanuel banished all those who refused to embrace the Christian religion; those who complied were restored to their freedom, and soon engrossed the Asiatic trade, which was then commencing. The establishment of the inquisition in 1548 proved a check to their activity. Their mistrust was increased by the frequent confiscations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them from time to time. They were in hopes of purchasing some tranquillity, by furnishing Sebastian with 250,000 livres (about 10,940*l*.) for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II, who soon after extended his dominion

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dominion over Portugal, enacted that such of his subjects as were descended from a Jew or a Moor, should be excluded from all ecclesiastical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new Christians were branded, gave them such a disgust for a country where even the fortunes of the richest could not secure them from meeting with mortifications, that they removed with their wealth to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburg, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occasion of a great revolution, spread that industry into other countries, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, and deprived those two nations of the advantages the one derived from the East, and the other from the West Indies.

BEFORE these last periods, the Jews who had been stripped of their property by the inquisition, and banished to the Brazils, were yet not totally forsaken. Many found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be honest and industrious men, obtained credit from merchants of different nations, whom they had formerly dealt with, who advanced them money. These helps enabled them to cultivate sugar-canes, which they first procured from the island of Madeira.

THIS commodity, which till then had been so scarce as to be confined to medicinal uses, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themselves this new species of indulgence. This circumstance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to continue increasing its culture. The court of Lisbon, notwithstanding their prejudices, began to be sensible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or silver. They now looked with less contempt upon an immense region that chance had thrown in their way, and which they had always considered as a mere common drain, fit  
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only to carry off the filth of the monarchy. This settlement, which had been wholly left to the management of the colonists, was now thought to deserve some kind of administration, and accordingly Thomas de Sousa was sent thither in 1549, to regulate and superintend it. BOOK  
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THIS able governor began by reducing these men, who had always lived in a state of anarchy, into proper subordination, and bringing their scattered plantations closer together; after which, he applied himself to acquire some lights respecting the natives; with whom he knew he must be incessantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no easy matter to accomplish this.

BRAZIL was full of small nations, some of which inhabited the forests, and others lived in the plains and along the rivers. Some had settled habitations, but many more led a roving life. Most of them had no intercourse with each other. Those that were not divided by incessant wars, were so by hereditary hatred and jealousy. Some lived by hunting and fishing, others by agriculture. All these causes must have produced a visible difference in the employments and customs of these several nations; yet their general character was very similar.

THE Brazilians in general are of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. They are subject to fewer distempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to live upwards of a hundred years. Formerly they wore no clothing at all, but since our invasion, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from those of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the men cut theirs quite short; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies. Character  
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THOUGH the language of the Topinambous is generally spoken all along the sea coasts, yet every nation on that vast continent has its own peculiar idiom. Some of these languages are said to be emphatical, but they are all very much confined; not one of them has any words to express abstract and universal ideas. This penury of language, which is common to all the nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding has made in those parts. The analogy of words in the several languages, shews that the transmigrations of those savages have been frequent. Possibly, by comparing their language with those of Africa, of the East Indies and of Europe, the origin of the Americans may one day be traced, after the long and fruitless search, which has hitherto employed the labours of so many learned men.

In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very simple. It might have been expected to have admitted of greater variety when they came to be acquainted with our domestic animals; yet those who live by the sea side still continue to feed upon the shell-fish they pick up on the shore. Along the rivers, they always live by fishing, and in the forests by hunting. When these precarious provisions fail, they feed upon roots, that either grow spontaneously, or require but little culture.

THESE savages are averse from all labour, and spend their time in idleness, eating, and dancing. Their songs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

THEIR amusements are not interrupted by the worship of a supreme being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity disturbed by the dread of a future state, of which they have no notion. However, they have their magicians, who, by strange contortions, so far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them  
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into violent convulsions. The end of these men is to be murdered, if their impostures are detected, and this is some restraint upon the spirit of lying. BOOK  
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THESE atheists are equally strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which among ourselves are originally derived from the idea of a supreme being. They cannot conceive that any man can have the impudence to command, much less that any one can be such a fool as to obey. They only bestow most of their esteem upon the man that has murdered the greatest number of his enemies.

THE Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and like most other savages, shew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states; which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its distinctive disposition, customs and taste: this love of our country is but a factitious sentiment, arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of a savage is the very reverse of that of the social man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding opens, he overlooks the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, that precious time which nature intended for enjoyment, is spent in speculation and disappointment. The man denies himself what he wishes for, laments the indulgencies he has allowed himself, and is alike tormented by his denials and gratifications. Incessantly deploring his liberty which he has always sacrificed, he looks back wishfully on his earliest years, when a series of new objects entertained him with a constant sense of curiosity and hope. He fondly recollects the scene of his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears to him the image of his cradle,

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cradle, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot : — whereas the savage, who in every period of his life allows himself an unrestrained enjoyment of all the pleasures and all the good things it affords, without ever sacrificing them to the prospect of a less laborious old age, finds in all places alike, objects analogous to his desires, and feels that the source of his pleasures is in himself, and that every place is his home.

THOUGH the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the result of any laws, dissensions are seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, or some unlucky incident happens to breed a quarrel, and some life is lost, the murderer is instantly delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who put him to death ; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is sealed by a joyous and noisy feast.

EVERY Brazilian takes as many wives as he pleases, or as many as he can get, and puts them away when he is tired of them. When they violate their marriage vow, they are punished with death, and nobody laughs at the husband for the injury his wife has done him. When the women lie in, they keep their bed but a day or two ; then hanging the child to her neck in a cotton scarf, the mother attends her business as usual, and receives no injury from it.

TRAVELLERS meet with great civilities in the Brazils. Wherever they come, they are surrounded with women, who wash their feet, and welcome them with the most obliging expressions. They spare nothing for their reception ; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they were first entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This hospitality is one of the strongest indications that man was intended for society. This is the most valuable disposition of the savage nations ; and the point where the improvements of policy, and of all social institutions ought, perhaps, to rest.

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THE Brazilians assist one another in sickness with more than brotherly kindness and cordiality. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and sucks it, and performs all the offices of humanity with the same readiness. They make use of the healing plants that grow in their forests; but they trust more to abstinence than to medicines, and never allow their sick to taste any food.

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FAR from shewing that indifference or weakness that makes us shun the dead, that makes us unwilling to speak of them, or to stay in the places that might recall their image; these savages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with transport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceased was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces and his weapons are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the sake of changing, every family sets up some remarkable stone over the graves of their most respectable relations, and they never approach those monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the shouts with which they rend the air when they are going to battle.

INTEREST or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to war. The desire of avenging their relations or friends, has always been the motive of their most sanguinary contests. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hostilities, give the signal for marching, and are incessantly engaged during the march, in inventing expressions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is suspended to listen to these passionate orations, that last for many hours. This may account for those long speeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman historians; but in those days, the noise of the

the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

THE combatants are armed with a club of ebony, six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the same wood. Their instruments of martial musick are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are full as well calculated to inspire courage, as our drums, which stun us out of our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the soldiers who have fought best in former wars.

WHEN the aggressor arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the provisions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themselves at some distance from the habitations to fall upon their enemies unawares. When it is dark, they set fire to the huts, and take advantage of the confusion to glut their boundless rage. Those who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons and lie in ambush. If they are discovered and routed by superior forces, they hide themselves in the deepest recesses of the woods. Their courage seldom consists in standing their ground.

THE ambition of the Brazilians is to make a great many prisoners. These are brought home to the conqueror's village, where they are slain and eaten. The feast lasts a long time, and during the continuance of it, the old men exhort the young to become intrepid warriors, that they may extend the glory of their nation, and often procure themselves such an honourable repast. This inclination for human flesh is never so prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour such of their enemies as have fallen in battle; they only eat those who have been taken alive, and afterwards put to death with certain ceremonies; as if revenge alone could give a relish for that food which humanity abhors.

THE

THE treatment of prisoners of war has varied according to the degree of perfection human reason has gradually acquired. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of the war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages murder them without putting them to torture. The most savage of all, torture, kill, and eat them. This is their law of nations.

THIS anthropophagy, however, is sometimes a kind of malady or taste, that seizes some individuals even amongst the mildest savages. These murderers, or madmen, withdraw from their horde, and lurk alone in some corner of a forest, where they lie in wait for the passenger, as huntsmen or savages do for game, drag him in, kill and devour him.

WHEN this disposition is not a malady, the tasting of human flesh in the sacrifices made of the prisoners, and a habit of indolence, may be reckoned among the causes of this private anthropophagy. The civilized man lives by labour, and the savage by hunting. Amongst us, stealing is the readiest and easiest way of acquiring. Amongst the savages, killing a man, and eating him if his flesh is good, is the easiest way of hunting. A man is sooner killed than an animal. Amongst us, an indolent man wants money, and will not take the pains to earn it. Amongst the savages, an indolent man wants to eat, and will not take the pains to go a hunting; and the same vice leads both to the same crime; so that in all countries laziness is a consumer of men; and in this view, anthropophagy is still more common in society than in the wilds of America. If ever we have an opportunity of examining the savages that are troubled with this distemper, we shall find them weak, cowardly, lazy, and addicted to the same vices as our murderers and vagrants,

WE know that if opulence is the mother of vice, poverty is the mother of crimes; and this principle holds as true in the woods as in cities. The opulence of a savage is plenty of game; his poverty is a scarcity of it. Now, the crimes that poverty tempts men to commit are theft and murder. The civilized man robs and murders to live; the savage kills to eat.

WHEN this disposition is a malady, the physician will inform us that a savage may be affected with canine hunger, as well as another man. If he is weak, and has not strength to go through the fatigue of procuring a sufficiency to satisfy his hunger, what will he do? He will kill his neighbour and eat him. He is able to hunt but for a certain time, and he wants to eat continually.

THERE are numberless disorders and natural defects, which are attended with no ill consequences, or have quite contrary effects in society, but which must unavoidably conduce to anthropophagy, in a savage, whose whole property consists in his life.

ALL the moral defects which lead the social men to theft, must lead the savage to the same: now, the only theft a savage is tempted to commit, is on the life of a savage whose flesh is fit to eat.

IN the Brazils, the heads of the dead are carefully preserved, and shewn to all strangers as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bear their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which command respect from their countrymen. These are no gold or filken ornaments that can be stripped off by an enemy. They account it an honour to have been disfigured in battle. In those regions; a man is respected the more from being covered with blood.

SUCH manners did not dispose the Brazilians to submit to the yoke which the Portuguese wanted to impose upon them on their first arrival. At first, they only declined

elined all intercourse with these strangers; but finding they were pursued in order to be made slaves, and to be employed in the labours of the field, they murdered and devoured all the Europeans they could lay hands on. The friends and relations of the captive savages made frequent attempts to rescue them, and were sometimes successful. This brought an increase of enemies against the Portuguese, who were forced to fight with one hand, whilst they were building with the other.

SOUSA did not bring forces sufficient to put matters upon a better footing. Indeed, by building San Salvador, he gave a center to the colony, but the honour of settling, extending, and making it really useful to the mother country, was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by religion and ambition to undertake great things, dispersed themselves amongst the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had no idea of forgiveness. By degrees they placed more confidence in men who seemed to court them only to make them happy. Their fondness for the missionaries grew to a passion. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. When he drew near, they sallied forth, played upon their fifes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs: and in short, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little further on, stood the women and young girls, in a respectful posture suitable to their sex. Then they all joined, and conducted their

Success of  
the Portu-  
guese in the  
Brazils.



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father in triumph to the place where they were to meet. There he instructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of justice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptized them.

As these missionaries were too few to do every thing themselves, they frequently deputed some of the most sensible Indians in their stead. These men, proud of so glorious an office, distributed hatchets, knives and looking glasses amongst the savages they met with, and represented the Portuguese as a harmless, humane and good natured people. They never returned from their excursions but they brought away some of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curiosity. When those barbarians had once seen the Jesuits, they could not bear to part from them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and share their happiness, and to shew the presents they had received.

If any one should doubt these happy effects of kindness and humanity over savage nations, let him but compare the progress the Jesuits have made, in a very short time, in South America, with what the arms and the shipping of Spain and Portugal have not been able to compass in the space of two centuries. Whilst thousands of soldiers were turning two great and civilized empires into deserts inhabited by roving savages, a few missionaries have changed little wandering clans into several great and civilized nations. If these active and courageous men had been less infected with the spirit of the church of Rome; if, formed into a society in the most intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not introduced themselves into other courts to influence all political events; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill use of the very virtues of their members: the old and new world would still enjoy the labours of a

set

set of men, who might have been made useful, by hindering them from being necessary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cause to blush for the enormities that have attended their suppression; nor would the capital of the world be now plunging her rapacious hands into the bowels of her martyrs and apostles.

THE Brazilians had too much cause to hate the Europeans, not to mistrust their kindness; but their diffidence was in some measure removed by a signal act of justice.

THE Portuguese had formed the settlement of St. Vincent on the sea coast, in the 24th degree of south latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the gentlest and most civilized nation in all the Brazils. The benefit they reaped from this connection could not prevent their seizing upon seventy men to make slaves of them. The man who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the prisoners back to the place whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuses for so heinous an insult. Two Jesuits who were appointed to dispose the Indians to accept that satisfaction, which would never have been decreed but at their desire, gave notice of it to Farancaba, the most respectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy; "My fathers, said he, we consent to forget all that is past, and to enter into a fresh alliance with the Portuguese; but let them for the future be more moderate, and more observant of the rights of nations. Our attachment entitles us at least to equity. We are called barbarians, yet we respect justice and our friends." The missionaries having promised that for the future their nation would more religiously observe the laws of peace and unity, Farancaba proceeded thus; "If you doubt the honesty of the Cariges, I will give you a proof of it. I have a nephew whom I tenderly love; he

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“ is the hope of my family, and his mother’s favourite;  
 “ she would die with grief if she were to lose her son.  
 “ Yet you shall have him as a hostage. Take him  
 “ along with you, cultivate his young mind, take care  
 “ of his education, and instruct him in your religion.  
 “ Let his manners be gentle, and pure. I hope when  
 “ you come again, you will instruct me also, and en-  
 “ lighten my mind.” Many of the Cariges followed  
 his example, and sent their children to St. Vincent for  
 education. The Jesuits were too artful not to take great  
 advantage of that event; but it does not appear that they  
 ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by incul-  
 cating submission. Avarice had not yet possessed the  
 minds of these missionaries; and they had then such  
 interest at court, as to command respect in the colony,  
 so that their new converts were not to be pitied.

THIS time of tranquillity was improved to the ad-  
 vancement of the sugar-trade, by means of the slaves  
 procured from Africa. That vast region was no sooner  
 discovered and subdued by the Portuguese, but they  
 brought away a great number of blacks, to employ them  
 in domestic services and in clearing the grounds. This  
 custom, one of those which have most contributed to cor-  
 rupt the national temper, and which was first practised in  
 the mother country, was introduced much later in the  
 plantations abroad, where it did not commence till about  
 the year 1530. The negroes multiplied prodigiously at  
 the time we are speaking of. The natives did not, in-  
 deed, share their labours; but they did not obstruct them,  
 as they did at first: they rather encouraged them, by  
 devoting themselves to less laborious employments, and  
 by furnishing the colony with some sustenance. This  
 harmony was productive of great advantages.

Enterprizes  
 of the  
 French in  
 the Brazils.

THE prosperity of the colony, which was visible in  
 all the markets in Europe, excited the envy of the  
 French. They attempted to make settlements succeß-  
 fully

sively at Rio-Janeiro, Rio Grande, Paraiba and the island of Maragnan. Their levity would not suffer them to wait the slow progress of new undertakings; and merely from inconstancy and impatience, they gave up prospects that were sufficient to encourage any but such volatile spirits, that are as soon disheartened as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitless incursions is a dialogue that shews the natural good sense of the savages, and the more so as it is written with that simplicity of style which distinguished the French language two hundred years ago.

“THE Brazilians, says Lery, one of the interlocutors, wondering to see the French take so much pains to go and fetch their wood, there was once one of their old men who asked me this question. What is the meaning that you Frenchmen come so far to fetch wood to warm yourselves? Is there none in your land? To which having answered yes, and a great deal too, but not such as theirs, which we did not burn as he thought; But as they themselves used it to dye their strings and their feathers, so our people fetched it for dying. He replied; well, but do you want so much? Yes, said I; for in our country there are some merchants who have more rugs and scarlet cloths than you ever saw in this country; one of these will buy several ship loads of this wood. Ha hah! says the savage, thou tellest me wonders. Then pausing upon what I had been telling him, he said, But this very rich man thou talkest of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, said I, as well as another. Upon which, as they are great talkers, he asked me again; So then when he is dead, to whom does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, said I, to his children, or if he has none, to his brothers, sisters, or next of kin. Truly, says the old man, now I see

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“that you Frenchmen are great fools; for, must you  
 “work so hard and cross the sea to heap up riches for  
 “them that come after you, as if the earth that has  
 “fed you was not sufficient to feed them too? We have  
 “children and relations whom we love, as thou seest;  
 “but as we are sure that after our death, the earth  
 “that has fed us will feed them, truly we trust to that.”

THIS philosophy, so natural to savages who have no ambition, but unknown to civilized nations, who have experienced all the mischiefs of luxury and avarice, made no great impression on the French. They could not withstand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirsted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from necessity, were more persevering and more successful in their attempts on the Brazils. They had only as small a nation as their own to deal with, who, like themselves were soon to shake off the Spanish yoke; but with this difference, that they still retained that of royalty.

The Dutch settle in the Brazils, and after having derived considerable advantages from their situation, are driven from it.

ALL histories are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that provoked the low countries to rise against Philip II. The richest provinces remained or returned under the yoke of a tyrannical government, whilst the poorest, that were in a manner under water, found means, by more than human efforts, to secure their independence. When their liberty was firmly established, they went and attacked their enemy upon the remotest seas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spanish dominions, since Portugal had been included in the possessions of Spain. The truce of 1609 allowed time for that enterprising and fortunate republic to ripen her new projects. They broke out in 1621, by the creation of a West India Company, which promised the same  
 success

success in Africa and America, that were both comprized in the charter, as the East India company had enjoyed in Asia. BOOK  
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THE stock of the new society was twelve millions; (525,000*l*.) Holland furnished four ninths, Zealand two, the Maese and West Friesland each one, and Friesland and Groningen together one ninth. The general meeting was to be held at Amsterdam six years successfally, and then two years at Middelburg. The West India Company, who were displeased that their privilege was not so extensive as that of the East India Company, were in no haste to begin their operations; but the states put them upon a level, and then they made an attack upon the Brazils.

THEY had taken care to procure the necessary informations. Some Dutch ships had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that forbad the admittance of any strangers. As they greatly underfold the mother country, which is the constant practice of that nation, they met with a kind reception. At their return they reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had stifled in the people the love of their country; that self-interest had corrupted their minds; that the soldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the very elements of war, and that whoever should appear there with competent forces, would infallibly effect the conquest of that wealthy region.

THE company committed that undertaking to Jacob Willekins in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador surrendered at sight of the Dutch fleet, and the rest of the province, which was the largest, richest and most populous of the colony, made little more resistance.

THIS news gave more pleasure than pain to the Spanish council. The ministry were comforted for the triumph of their most inveterate enemies by the vexation this stroke must give to the Portuguese. Ever since they had

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had been seeking to oppress that unfortunate nation, they had met with a resistance that hurt their pride, and checked their despotism. An event that might make Portugal less haughty and more tractable, appeared to them a lucky circumstance. They thought themselves at the eve of accomplishing their purpose, and were fully determined to do nothing that might protract the completion of it.

THOUGH Philip harboured these base sentiments, he thought the majesty of the throne required of him some outward demonstrations of decency. Accordingly he wrote to the Portuguese of the first rank, exhorting them to make such generous efforts as the present exigencies required. This they were very ready to do. Self interest, patriotism, the desire of damping the joy of their tyrants, all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men lavished their treasures; others raised troops; all were eager to enter into the service. In three months time they fitted out twenty six ships, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with those from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that nation had made them wait for, much too long.

THE archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had presently stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harassed, beaten, driven, inclosed and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

THE success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Their ships never came into port but loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the powers most interested in the welfare of Holland.

Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured by useful exploits to preserve their confidence. The subaltern officers strove to rise, by seconding the valour and skill of their commanders. The soldiers and sailors fought with unparalleled eagerness, and nothing could discourage those resolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the sea, sickness, and repeated engagements, all seemed to inure them to war, and to increase their emulation. The company kept up this spirit by frequent rewards. Exclusive of their pay, they were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a constant supply of men. By this wise regulation, their interest was so connected with that of their employers, that they wanted to be always in action. They never struck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ships with that skill, that intrepidity, and that perseverance, which must ensure victory. In the compass of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ships, which cost ninety millions. (3,937,500*l*.) They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ships, which, with the goods on board, sold for 180,000,000 livres. (7,875,000*l*.) The dividend never was under twenty per cent. and often rose to fifty. This prosperity, which arose wholly from war, put the company in a condition to make a second attack upon the Brazils.

THEIR admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-six men of war, on the coast of Fernambucca, one of the largest districts in those parts, and the best fortified. He reduced it after several obstinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind, subdued those of Tamaracá, Paraiba and Rio Grande, in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. They furnished yearly a large quantity of sugar, a great deal of logwood, and other commodities, as did likewise Fernambucca.

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THE company were so elated with the acquisition of this wealth, which flowed to Amsterdam instead of Lisbon, that they determined to conquer all the Brazils, and sent Maurice of Nassau for that purpose. That general reached the place of his destination on the first days of 1637. He found the soldiers well disciplined, the commanders experienced men, and all shewed so much readiness to engage, that he directly took the field. He was successively opposed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, passionately fond of the Portuguese, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted nothing to be a general, but to have learnt the art of war under good masters. All these chiefs exerted their utmost efforts to defend the possessions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch seized upon the districts of Siats, Seregippe, and almost all Bahia. Seven of the fourteen provinces which composed the colony, had acknowledged their dominion, and they flattered themselves that one or two campaigns would make them masters of all that remained in the enemy's hands in that part of America; when they were suddenly stopped in the midst of their career by a revolution which all Europe wished for, but had no room to expect.

THE Portuguese had never enjoyed happy times since they had submitted to the Spanish yoke. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, despotic, crafty and false prince, had endeavoured to vilify them; but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His son, who too closely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good-will of the people for their submission, had suffered them to be stripped of a multitude of conquests, which had been a source of riches, glory and power, and had cost them torrents of blood. The successor of that weak prince, still more foolish than his father,  
openly

openly and contemptuously attacked their administration, their privileges, their manners, and all that was dearest to them. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might have a right to strip them. BOOK  
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THESE repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conspiracy, that had been brooding for three years with incredible secrecy, broke out on the 3d of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the Duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all the remaining settlements in Asia, Africa, and America. This great revolution cost no blood but that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

THE new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Haerlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. This council was to have the decision of all matters, which were supposed for the future to relate only to the concerns of a brisk and profitable trade.

THE new administrators readily entered into the economical views of the company. Their own inclination led them beyond the mark. They suffered the fortifications to decay, which had been too much neglected before; and sold arms and ammunition to their rivals, who paid a high price for them; and allowed all the soldiers who desired it to return to Europe. Their whole ambition was to save expences, and increase the profits

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profits of their constituents; and the applause which their rich cargoes procured them from a greedy and short-sighted direction, encouraged them to go on. To enhance the profits of the company, they began to oppress those Portuguese, whose large property, or some other circumstance, had induced them to remain under their protection. Tyranny made a quick progress, and was at last carried to such excess, as would justify any resolutions, and inspire the most violent ones.

THE victims wasted no time in complaints. The boldest joined in 1645 to take their revenge: their scheme was, to murder all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to fall upon the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered, but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and to fly to a place of safety.

THEIR chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, called Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common servant he had risen to be a commission trader, and then a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his honesty had gained him universal confidence; and his generosity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his interest. The late disappointment did not break his high spirit. Without the consent or support of government, he dared to raise the standard of war.

His name, his virtues and his projects assembled the Brazilians, the Portuguese soldiers, and even the colonists about him. He inspired them with his confidence, his activity and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his person, and were determined to conquer or die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himself to flumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the course of his prosperities, only served to display the firmness

firmness of his soul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He put on a threatening aspect, even after a misfortune, and appeared still more formidable by his perseverance than by his intrepidity. He spread such terror, that his enemies durst no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders to stop.

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SINCE the truce, the Dutch had seized upon some places in Africa and Asia, which they obstinately refused to restore. The court of Lisbon, intent upon greater concerns, had not been at leisure to do themselves justice; but their inaction had not lessened their resentment. In this disposition, they had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even secretly favoured them who had begun the hostilities. As they constantly disowned these proceedings, and loudly declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day punish the authors of the disturbances, the company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was roused at last. John IV, being informed that considerable armaments were making in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

VIERA, who had nothing to trust to see the completion of his work, but his money, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king, said he, did but know his own interest, our zeal and our success; far from disarming us, he would encourage us to pursue our undertaking, and would support us with all his power." Then, lest the ardour of his companions should cool, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that with the help of Baretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed the

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the ruin of the Dutch. The few who escaped the sword and famine, evacuated Brazil in consequence of a capitulation signed the 28th of January 1654.

THE peace concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, seemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable possession, which they had lost by an ill-judged parsimony and unlucky incidents; but both the republic and the company frustrated the expectation of their friends; and the treaty which put an end to the divisions between the two powers in 1661, secured to Portugal the sole possession of all the Brazils, in consideration of eight millions, (350,000*l.*) which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces, either in money or goods.

THUS did the Dutch part with a conquest that might have become the richest of all the European colonies, and would have made the republic more considerable than their own country ever can. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the administration and defence of it; and to make it prosper, it should have enjoyed full liberty. With these precautions, Brazil would have been preserved, and would have enriched the nation, instead of ruining the company. Unfortunately they did not yet know that the only way to make lands useful in America is to clear them, and that the only way to do this successfully, is to open a free trade to all the colonists under the protection of government.

No sooner did the Portuguese find themselves entirely freed from the Dutch, but they thought of putting the colony into better order than ever it was, even before the war. The first thing they did towards accomplishing this end, was to regulate the condition of the Brazilians, who had either submitted, or should submit to them. Upon a closer examination they found that they had been slandered, when they were represented as barbarians who could bear no restraint. The first impression that  
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the sight of Europeans made upon small nations, who were divided by continual wars, was a sense of distrust; and as it is natural for suspected persons to be afraid of those who suspect them, they thought themselves at liberty to treat them as enemies, to oppress them, and to put them in irons. This usage at first rendered them fierce. The difficulty of understanding one another, gave frequent occasions for animosity on both sides. If the natives afterwards renewed their hostilities, it was commonly because they were provoked to it by the imprudence, the rapaciousness, the dishonesty, and the ill usage of that restless and ambitious power that was come to disturb the peace of that part of America. On some occasions, they might be charged with inadvertency, in too hastily taking up arms from the apprehensions of imaginary danger, but never with injustice or double dealing. They were always found true to their promises, to the faith of treaties, and to the sacred rights of hospitality.

BEING at last satisfied as to their disposition, it was thought expedient to collect them into villages along the coast, or not far up the country. By this means, a communication was secured to the Portuguese settlements, and they kept off the savages who infested the intermediate parts with their depredations. The missionaries, who were mostly Jesuits, were intrusted with the temporal and spiritual government of these new communities. The best inquiries that could be made, in a country where all is mysterious, have informed us that those ecclesiastics were mere tyrants. Those who had retained some principles of moderation and humanity, whether from indolence or from fanaticism, kept those little societies in a state of perpetual infancy, and neither improved their understanding, nor in some measure their industry.

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POSSIBLY, had they been ever so willing, they would have found it difficult to have been more serviceable to them. Some kinds of government are faulty, both by the mischief they do, and by the good they prevent. A wrong administration corrupts all the seeds of virtue and prosperity. The court of Lisbon exempted the Indians from all taxes, but subjected them to services. That fatal law made them dependent on the neighbouring commandants and magistrates, who, under the usual pretence, too often sacrificed them to their own service. Those who were not employed for them or for their teachers, were generally unemployed. If they shook off their natural indolence, it was to go a hunting or fishing, or to cultivate a little cassada, just as much as they wanted for their own subsistence. Their manufactures were confined to some cotton girdles or sashes to cover their nakedness, and the placing of a few feathers to adorn their heads. The most active found in their forests, or in the culture of their grounds, sufficient to purchase a few articles of cutlery, and other trifles of small value. If any one, from inconstancy, hired himself to the Portuguese, either for domestic service or to navigate their small craft, it was always for a short time; for they hate work, and have the highest contempt for money.

SUCH was the fate of the Brazilians who had submitted, whose number never exceeded 200,000. The independent natives had little intercourse with the Europeans, except by the slaves they sold them, or those that were taken from them. The two nations committed few acts of hostility against each other, and in time entirely ceased. The Portuguese have not been molested by the natives since the year 1717, and have not molested them since 1756.

WHILST the court of Lisbon was regulating the interior concerns of the colony, some of their subjects were devising

devising the means of extending it. They advanced to the south towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards seemed to be in possession of both those rivers. The Portuguese were determined to drive them away, or share the navigation with them.

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THE river of the Amazons, so famous for the extent of its course, that great vassal of the sea, to whom she brings the tribute she has received from so many of her own vassals, seems to be produced by innumerable torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to supply that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Llauricócha, as from a reservoir of the Cordeleras, situate in the district of Guanuco, thirty leagues from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In its progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

THE entrance of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus; and its spring head is thought to have been discovered by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other. He was obliged to fight his way down, and to engage many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was, doubtless, then that the sight of beardless savages, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imagination of the Spaniards, and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors, and induced the commanding officer to change

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the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons, which name it retains to this day.

It may appear surprising that America did not fill the heads of the Spaniards with more prodigies, considering their propensity for the marvellous; but it must be remembered that their conquests, and the incredible massacres they committed in quest of riches, destroyed a country so well calculated to furnish them with wonderful stories. There indeed, the fancy of the Greeks might have found abundant matter for pleasing chimeras. They, who could not stir a step in a small territory without meeting with a multitude of wonders, had, even in the times of Hercules and Theseus, given birth to a nation of Amazons. They were so enchanted with this idea, that it recurred perpetually in the histories of all their heroes, down to Alexander. Perhaps, the Spaniards, still infatuated with this dream of profane antiquity, were the more disposed to realize the fiction, by removing into the new continent what they had learned in the old.

SUCH was, probably, the origin of the opinion they established, both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, they reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. They added, that being accustomed to follow the men in the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they were inured to hardships, and capable of such a bold resolution.

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BUT it is absurd to imagine that women who had an unconquerable aversion for men, would ever consent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would run after their wives, when they had made their lives insupportable at home, and always turned them away as soon they had no more occasion for them. Much less can it be supposed that the softer sex, susceptible of the tenderest feelings, would expose or strangle their own children because they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit such enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and despair. Nor could a senate of women govern an aristocratical or a democratical commonwealth, or a monarchy be governed by a single woman.

If strange prejudices have formed societies of both sexes amongst us, who live separate, and free from that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not consistent with the nature of things, that chance should have produced a nation of men without women, and still less a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that since this political constitution has been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be discovered. This singular prodigy therefore will be like many others, which are always supposed to exist, though nobody knows where.

BE that as it may, the voyage of Orellana procured little information, but excited much curiosity. The civil wars that raged in Peru, prevented its being presently satisfied; but when tranquillity was restored, Pedro d'Orsua, a gentleman of Navarre, distinguished by his wisdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to resume that navigation. He set out from Cusco with seven hundred men. Those blood-thirsty monsters, those haters of all good men, murdered their chief, who was a man of good morals, and a friend to order. They set up at their head, with the title of king, a fierce Biscayan,

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cayan, called Lopez d'Aguirre, who promised them all the treasures of the new world.

INTOXICATED with such flattering hopes, those barbarians sailed down the Amazons into the ocean, and landed at Trinidad; murdered the governor, and plundered the island. The coasts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha were still more severely treated, because they were richer. They then penetrated into new Grenada, and were advancing to Quito and the heart of Peru, where every thing was to be destroyed by fire and sword. A body of troops, hastily got together, attacked those desperate men, beat and dispersed them. D'Aguirre, seeing no way to escape, and enraged at his disappointment, thus addressed his only daughter who attended him in his travels: "My child, I thought to have placed thee upon a throne, but the event has not answered my expectation. My honour and thy own will not permit thee to live, and to be a slave to our enemies; die therefore by a father's hand." Saying this, he instantly shot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his strength failed, and he was taken prisoner, drawn and quartered.

AFTER these unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to trace its discovery, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering difficulties, and attaining a profitable knowledge of that great river, was reserved to the Portuguese.

THAT nation, which still retained some remains of her former vigour, had, some years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which they called Para. Pedro Texeira embarked at this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes full of Indians and Portuguese, went up the river of the Amazons, as far

as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almost to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, though subjects of the same master, Texeira was received with that regard, esteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a signal service to his country. He returned in company with d'Acugna and d'Artieda, two learned Jesuits, who were commissioned to verify his observations, and to make others. An accurate result of these two voyages was sent to the court of Madrid, where it gave rise to a very extraordinary project.

THE communication between the Spanish colonies had long been found very difficult. The enemy's corsairs infested the north and south seas, and intercepted their navigation. Even those of their ships which had got to the Havannah and joined company, were not perfectly safe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole squadrons, and always pursued by privateers, who seldom failed to carry off the stragglers that were parted from the convoy, either by stormy weather or by sailing more slowly than the rest. The Amazon, seemed to obviate all these difficulties. It was thought a feasible, and even an easy matter, to convey thither the treasures of New Grenada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itself, by navigable rivers, or at a small expence by land. It was thought that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to take them in. The Brazil fleet would then join the Spanish, and they would strengthen each other. They would then sail with great security in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would make a formidable appearance at their return to Europe, and shew that they were prepared to encounter any obstacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the

the throne, put an end to these important projects. Each nation fought only to keep that part of the river that best suited its own situation.

THE Spanish Jesuits undertook to set up a mission in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, down to the junction of both rivers. Every missionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and ventured into the thickest of the forests. There they spent whole months in climbing up the trees, to see if they could discover some hut, perceive any smoke, or hear the sound of any drum or fife. When they were assured that some savages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Most of them fled, especially if they were at war. Those the missionary could come within reach of, were easily bribed by such presents as their ignorance made them set a value upon. This was all the eloquence he had in his power, or all he had any occasion to exert.

WHEN he had assembled a few families, he led them to the place he had fixed upon to form a village. They were not easily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were used to rove about, they could not bear the thoughts of never shifting their habitation. The independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the social life that was recommended to them; and their unconquerable aversion for labour, induced them continually to return to their forests, where they had spent their lives in idleness. Even those who were restrained by the authority or the paternal kindness of their lawgiver, seldom failed to run away in his absence, if it was ever so short. But his death always put an end to the settlement.

THE perseverance of the Jesuits has at last conquered these seemingly invincible obstacles. Their mission, which began in 1637, has gradually acquired some solidity, and now consists of thirty-six villages, twelve of which

which are situated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. The most populous has no more than twelve hundred inhabitants, and the rest much less. The increase of the mission must be slow, and can never be considerable.

THE women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenness increases, when they remove from one place to another. The men are weakly, and make themselves more so by constant bathing. The climate is not healthy, and contagious distempers are very common. The savages never could, and, probably, never will, be brought to relish agriculture, and only delight in fishing and hunting, amusements which are by no means favourable to population. In a country which is almost all under water, few situations are fit for a settlement. The villages are so wide asunder, that they cannot possibly assist each other. The nations are likewise at too great a distance to be incorporated to any purpose; besides, most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so scanty that they often consist of five or six families.

OF all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head, to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla that nature offers so plentifully, which is sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, to barter them for necessaries. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few lianes, and covered on the top with palm leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fishing tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It has not been possible to extend their wishes beyond this. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, sleep without uneasiness and die without fear. They may be said to be  
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happy, if happiness consists more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

THIS infant state, the offspring of religion alone, has hitherto been of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America never thought of disturbing a country that afforded neither silver nor gold, nor any of those rich commodities which so powerfully allured their covetousness; but the neighbouring savages will sometimes come amongst them.

WHILST some missionaries were establishing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the same service to that of Lisbon. Six or seven days journey below the settlement of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the last under the jurisdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the first of the six villages formed by some Portuguese Carmelites, at a vast distance from each other. They are all on the south side of the river, where the ground is higher, and less liable to be overflowed. Those missions exhibit a pleasant prospect five hundred leagues from the sea; churches and houses prettily built, Americans neatly dressed, all sorts of European furniture which the Indians can get once a year at Para, when they go in their boats to sell the cocoa they pick up along the water side, where it grows spontaneously. If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with these neighbours, they might procure some conveniencies that they cannot fetch from Quito, being separated from that place by the Cordeleras, which cut off the communication more effectually than immense seas would do. The government would, probably, find their account in allowing this freedom, and, possibly, it might be for the interest both of Spain and Portugal, though rivals, to extend this permission. It is well known that the province of

Quito

Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of disposing of the overplus of those very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces might mutually assist each other, by means of the Napo and the Amazon, which would be greatly conducive to the welfare of both, and advance them to a degree of prosperity they can never attain without this intercourse. The mother countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, as Quito can never buy what is sent from Europe to America, and Para consumes nothing but what Lisbon buys of her neighbours. But it is with national antipathies, and the jealousies of crowned heads, as it is with the blind passions of men in private life. One unlucky incident is sufficient to divide families and nations for ever, when it is their highest interest to love and assist one another, and to promote universal happiness. Hatred and revenge will rather suffer than not do mischief, and are perpetually kept up by the wounds they inflict, and the blood they spill. How different is man in the state of nature from man corrupted in our wretched societies! The latter amply deserves all the sorrows he brings upon himself.

A PROOF of his mischievous disposition may be seen in those bulwarks, and that chain of forts erected by the avarice and distrust of the conquerors of Brazil, from the district of Coari down to the sea side. The Portuguese built them to preserve their usurpations in that part of the world. Though these forts are at a great distance from each other, and are but slightly fortified and thinly manned, the few Indians who inhabit the intermediate spaces are completely kept in subjection. The petty nations who refused to submit have disappeared, having fled for refuge to some remote or unknown region. The rich soil they have forsaken has not been cultivated, though it would have been for the interest of the mother country that it should; so that hitherto



**BOOK** therto Spain and Portugal have gained little else from  
**V.** all their conquests, than hatred and indignation against  
 their cruelties.

THE country along the Amazon indeed furnishes Portugal with sarsaparilla, vanilla, coffee, cotton, woods for cabinet work, timber, and plenty of cocoa, which, till of late years, was the current coin of the country. But this produce is nothing to what it might be. It is only to be found for some leagues about great Para, the capital of the colony, whereas the cultures ought to extend all along the great river, and on the fertile banks of an infinite number of navigable rivers which fall into it.

THESE great articles of trade are not the only things that might turn to good account, if Portugal, like other nations, had from time to time sent able naturalists into her colonies. Chance alone has discovered the Cucheris and Pecuri, two aromatic trees, whose fruits have the same properties as the nutmeg and clove. Perhaps, culture might give them that degree of perfection they want. A constant study might procure much useful knowledge in a country where nature is so different from what it is in our climate.

UNFORTUNATELY the Portuguese, who employ none but savages for their laborious work, attended to nothing but making slaves. At first, they set up a cross on some eminence in the countries they ran over, and left the care of it to the Indians. If they suffered it to decay, they and their children were piously doomed to slavery, for this heinous profanation. Thus the sign of salvation and deliverance for Christians, was made a sign of death and slavery for the Indians. In after-times, the forts they had erected served to increase the number of slaves. That resource proving insufficient, the Portuguese of Para made excursions of five or six hundred leagues to procure an additional number of men to supply the place of beasts in the cultivation of land. In 1739, they fetch-  
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ed some from the country of the Maynas; in 1733 from the missions of the Napo; and in 1741 as far as the head of the river Madera, and at different times from the banks of the rivers nearer home. They procured the greatest number from Rio Negro, where they have long since built a considerable fort. A detachment from the garrison of Para is always encamped on the banks of that river, to keep the reduced Indians in awe. That part of the country is covered with missions, where the missionaries piously encourage their converts to attack the neighbouring nations and bring away slaves. At last a party of soldiers, who were sent out to make further discoveries, went in boats as far as the Oroonoko. This last success has enlarged the views of the Portuguese, as it leaves no doubt about the communication between that river and the Amazon by Rio Negro. It concerns the court of Madrid to examine the grounds of these views, and to see how far they ought to take measures for disappointing them. At least we may venture to affirm, that the projects of the court of Lisbon on the river Plata, deserve the most serious attention.

THE Portuguese, who had appeared there soon after the Spaniards, took a dislike to it, and withdrew in a short time. In 1679 their inclination of settling there was revived, and with more spirit than they were thought capable of from their conduct and manners in Europe, they penetrated into Paraguay. They had already established the colony of St. Sacrament, near the islands of St. Gabriel, opposite to Buenos Ayres, when they were accidentally detected. The Guaranis Indians hastened thither to make amends for the neglect of government. Without deliberating, they attacked the new erected fortifications, and demolished them with an intrepidity, that has done honour to their courage.

THE court of Lisbon, who had built great hopes upon this settlement, was not discouraged by the late ill success,

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success, but desired that, till their claims could be adjusted, they might be allowed a place where the Portuguese might be sheltered from the storms, and in security from the pirates, if they were forced by stress of weather to enter the river Plata.

CHARLES II, who dreaded a war and hated business, was weak enough to grant their request, and only stipulated that the place so granted should still be deemed his property; that no more than fourteen Portuguese families should be sent thither; that the houses should be built of wood and thatched; that no fort should be erected; and that the governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right to inspect both the colony and the ships that should come into it.

HAD the Jesuits carried on the negotiation, as they had directed the war, they would certainly have foreseen the consequences of such a compliance. It was impossible but a standing settlement, be it what it would, must be a constant source of altercations with an enterprising neighbour, who had immense claims, who was sure of the protection of all the enemies of Spain, and who was within reach of Brazil, which would enable him to take advantage of every opportunity that might offer, to encroach upon the Spaniards. The event soon shewed the danger that might have been foreseen.

IMMEDIATELY upon the elevation of a French prince to the throne of Spain, when all was still in confusion and uncertainty as to the consequences of that great revolution, the Portuguese restored the fortifications of St. Sacrament with amazing celerity; and at the same time caused some troops to advance towards the frontiers of the Guaranis, hoping to ward off any blow from that quarter. But they were mistaken. The Jesuits having detected the artifice, brought their converts to St. Sacrament, which was already besieged. Those brave Indians, on their arrival, offered to mount the breach,

breach, though they knew it was but just opened. BOOK  
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When they began their march, some batteries were fired upon them from the town, but they stood the fire without ever breaking their ranks, nor could they be withheld by the fire of the small arms, which likewise killed many of them. The intrepidity with which they still advanced, so astonished the Portuguese that they fled to their ships, and abandoned their place.

THE disasters which Philip V. met with in Europe, preventing his reaping any advantage from this success, the colony of St. Sacramento was firmly re-instituted by the peace of Utrecht. Queen Anne, who made this peace, and who neither neglected her own interests nor those of her allies, required Spain to give up this important point.

AT that period the new settlement, being now under no apprehensions, began to carry on an immense trade with Buenos Ayres. That contraband trade had long subsisted. Rio Janeiro furnished Buenos Ayres with sugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, negroes, and woollen goods; and received in return from thence, flour, biscuit, dried or salt meat, and money. As soon as the colonies had a safe and commodious staple, they set no bounds to their intercourse. The court of Madrid, who soon perceived which way the treasures of Peru went, shewed great discontent, which still increased with the damage complained of. It was a perpetual source of division between the two nations, and continually threatened to end in a rupture. The conciliating methods which were proposed from time to time, were always found impracticable. At last, however, the matter was adjusted.

It was agreed at Madrid on the 13 of January 1750, that Portugal should give up to Spain the colony of St. Sacramento, and the north border of the river Plata, together with the village of St. Christopher and the adjacent

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cent lands, situated between the rivers Yupura and Issa, which fall into the Amazon. Spain, on her side, gave up all the lands and habitations bordering on the east side of the river Uruguay, from the river Ibicui to the north, the village of Santa Rosa, and all the others on the eastern border of the Guarapey.

THIS exchange was censured in both courts. Some dared to say at Lisbon, that it was bad policy to sacrifice a colony, whose illicit trade brought in eight or ten millions (On an average about 400,000*l*) a year to the mother country, for other possessions whose advantages were precarious, or at least distant. The clamours ran higher still at Madrid, and were more universal. They already thought they saw the Portuguese masters of the whole extent of the Uruguay, pouring their commodities all along the banks of the Plata; penetrating by means of several rivers into the Tucuman, into Chili, and as far as Potosi, and by degrees making themselves masters of the riches of Peru. They could not conceive how the same ministers, who thought there was no possibility of putting a stop to a contraband trade which could be carried on but from one spot, should imagine they should be able to prevent it, when a hundred channels were laid open to it. It was, said they, shutting a window against a thief, and throwing open the doors.

THESE dispositions gave rise to numberless cabals, which were laid to the charge of the Jesuits. They were known to be averse from a regulation that must dismember their republic; and it was supposed they might safely be suspected of setting all their engines to work to prevent the conclusion of the agreement. They were banished from both courts; the intrigues ceased, and the treaty was ratified.

THE next thing to be done was to enforce the execution of it in America, which appeared to be no easy matter.

matter. The Guaranis had not been subdued, but had freely submitted to Spain. They might, possibly, be of opinion, that they had not given that crown a power of disposing of them to another. Without meditating deeply on the subtleties of the law of nations, they might think they were the best judges of what concerned their own happiness. Their known abhorrence for the Portuguese yoke, might either mislead or inform their simplicity; and that aversion might be strengthened by insinuations from without. So critical a situation made it necessary to proceed with the greatest circumspection, which was accordingly done.

THE forces which both powers had sent over from Europe, and those that could be collected in America, joined to prevent or surmount the obstacles they foresaw. This parade did not terrify those against whom it was intended. Though the seven settlements that had been ceded were not succoured by the other settlements, at least not openly; and though the guides who till then had led them on to battle were no longer at their head, they were not backward in taking up arms in defence of their liberty. But their military conduct was not such as it ought to have been. Instead of confining themselves to harass the enemy, and to cut off his subsistence, which came two hundred leagues off, the Guaranis dared to meet him in the open field, where they sustained several small checks. If they had been totally defeated, they were determined to quit the country, to carry off all they could, and to leave the conqueror nothing but a desert. Whether the two powers were intimidated by this resolute behaviour, or whether one or both found they had made a bad bargain, the treaty of exchange was cancelled in 1761, and things remained upon the old footing in America; but both courts retained a violent resentment against the Jesuits, who were

**B O O K** thought to have kindled a war in Paraguay, to promote  
**V.** their own interest.

WE cannot say how far they may have deserved this accusation. The proofs have not been laid before the tribunal of the public. All that a writer, who has nothing to guide him but conjecture, can permit himself to say, is, that probabilities are strong against them. It was hardly possible that men who had erected a vast edifice with immense labour, could tamely see it pulled down. Independent of self-interest, which must work powerfully upon a society, which, from its first origin, had been secretly working its way to dominion, the Jesuits must have thought themselves intrusted with the felicity of those humane and simple people who had thrown themselves into their arms, and trusted them with the care of their fate. However this may be, we must now proceed to speak of another method the Portuguese took to enlarge their possessions.

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 of the Por-  
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 St. Paul.

IN the district of St. Vincent, the southernmost in Brazil, and the nearest to Rio de la Plata, thirteen leagues from the sea, is a town called St. Paul. The Portuguese, who founded it, were those malefactors who were first sent to America; as soon as they perceived that they were to be subject to some law, they withdrew from the places they had first inhabited, intermarried with the natives, and in a short time became so profligate, that their fellow citizens broke off all intercourse with them. This contempt, the fear of being restrained in their licentiousness, and the love of liberty, made them desirous of being independent. The situation of their town, which could be defended by a handful of men against the most powerful armies that could be sent against them, made them so bold, that they resolved to have no masters but themselves, and their ambition was crowned with success. Profligate men of all nations flocked to join them. All travellers were strictly forbidden

bidden to enter the new republic. Whoever would be admitted, must come with an intent to settle there. The candidates were to undergo a severe trial. Those who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were suspected of perfidy, were murdered without mercy; as were likewise all who shewed any inclination to desert.

THE inhabitants of St. Paul had every inducement to indulge in idleness, and a quiet life; a pure air, constant fair weather, a temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of south latitude, and a land abounding with corn, sugar, and excellent pasture; but that restlessness so natural to resolute banditti, that desire of dominion, which is the next step to a love of independence, the advances of liberty, which lead men to wish for glory of some kind or other, and to distinguish themselves: perhaps all these motives together prompted them to forego an easy life, and engage in troublesome and hazardous excursions.

THE first object of these excursions was to get slaves for their cultures. When they had depopulated the adjacent country, they proceeded to the province of Guayra, where the Jesuits had collected and civilized the Guaranis. These new Christians were exposed to so many massacres, and so many of them were carried off, that they suffered themselves to be persuaded to remove to the unwholesome banks of the Parana and the Uruguay, which they still inhabit. They reaped little advantage by this compliance; for they could promise themselves no tranquillity, unless they were allowed such arms as their aggressors had.

To propose that they should be furnished with such arms, was a matter of too delicate a nature. Spain had laid it down as a fundamental maxim, never to introduce the use of fire-arms amongst the Indians, lest the unfortunate victims of her insatiable greediness should



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one day make use of them to extricate themselves from the merciless fury of their oppressors. The law-givers of the Guaranis applauded this necessary precaution with regard to slaves, who were kept under by compulsion, but they thought it needless with men who were freely attached to the catholic kings by such gentle ties, that they never could be tempted to unloose them. They so well pleaded the cause of their converts, that in spite of opposition and prejudice, they obtained their request. The Guaranis were indulged with fire-arms in 1639, and soon made such good use of them, that they became the bulwark of Paraguay, and were able to keep off the inhabitants of St. Paul.

THOSE desperate men resolved to procure by craft what they could not obtain by force. They repaired to the places where the missionaries were used to resort; and there they set up crosses. Then some of the most sensible of them, dressed in the habit of Jesuits, made some trifling presents to the savages they met with, and enticed them to follow them to a habitation where they said every thing was in readiness to make them happy. When they had assembled a certain number, the troops that lay concealed, rushed upon the too credulous Indians, loaded them with irons, and carried them off. Some who made their escape gave the alarm, which raised a general suspicion, that occasioned a stop to be put to these hostile proceedings.

THE inhabitants of St. Paul then carried on their depredations another way, and extended them as far as the river of the Amazons. They are said to have destroyed no less than a million of Indians. Those who have escaped their fury, in an extent of three or four hundred leagues, are grown more savage than ever. They have fled for safety to the caves of the mountains, or dispersed into the darkest recesses of the forests. Their destroyers have not met with a better fate, having all perished  
sooner

sooner or later in these dangerous excursions. But the evil genius of America has supplied their place with vagabond Brazilians, fugitive negroes, and Europeans who were fond of that roving life.

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THE same spirit has always prevailed at St. Paul, even after some particular circumstance had induced the people to acknowledge the dominion of Portugal. Only their excursions are now in a track that rather promotes than obstructs the views of the mother country. By following the course of several rivers, they have attempted to open a way into Peru by the north of Paraguay. The vicinity of the lake of the Xarayes has put them in possession of the gold mines of Cayaba and Matto-Grosso, which they have opened, and still continue to work, without meeting with any interruption from Spain, who lays claim to that country. They would have carried their usurpations further, had they not been stopped by the Chiquitos.

WHILE these restless and enterprising men were ravaging the Amazon, the Plata, and the mountains of Peru, the coasts of Brazil daily improved in rich productions. That colony sent over to the mother country thirty-two millions weight of sugar, which was enough for its consumption, and sufficient to supply a great part of Europe; tobacco, which could be disposed of to advantage both in Africa and the European nations; balsam of capivi, a balsamic oil that distills from incisions made in a tree called Copaiba; Ipecacuanha, a very mild emetic which is much used; cocoa, which grew wild in some places, and was cultivated in others; cotton, superior to that of the Levant and the Leeward islands, and almost equal to the finest that comes from the East Indies; indigo, which the Portuguese have never sufficiently attended to; hides, the produce of oxen that run wild, and have greatly multiplied in the forests; and, lastly, logwood.

Productions of  
Brazil.

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THE tree that produces this wood is as tall and as bushy as our oak; the leaves are small, roundish, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The blossoms, which resemble lillies of the valley, are of a fine red, and exhale a fragrant smell. The bark is so thick, that there is very little left when the wood is stripped. This wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine polish; but its chief use is for the red dye. The tree grows in dry and barren places, and among the rocks; it is found in most provinces in the Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca; and the best of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that district.

IN exchange for these commodities, Portugal sends flour, wine, brandy, salt, woollen goods, silks, linen, small wares, paper; in short, all that Europe exports to America, except gold and silver stuffs, which the mother country had, whether properly or not, prohibited in her colonies.

THE whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which sailed every year from Lisbon and Oporto in the month of March, and consisted of twenty or twenty-two ships for Rio-Janeiro, thirty for Bahia, as many for Fernambucca, and seven or eight for Para. The ships parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their respective destinations. They afterwards met at Bahia to sail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of five or six men of war, which had escorted them at their going out.

MANY judicious speculators blamed this regulation, and thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to send out their ships, and order them home when it suited them best. This wise system would infallibly have reduced the expence of freight, which must affect the price of the commodities. A free trade

trade would have employed more ships, and voyages would have been more frequent. It would have strengthened the navy, and encouraged agriculture. The intercourse between the colonies and the mother country being brisker, would have been of signal advantage to government, by facilitating the proper steps to be taken with regard to their protection and authority.

THE court of Lisbon seemed at times inclinable to yield to these considerations, but was long deterred by the fear of seeing the ships fall into the enemy's hands, if they sailed separately; and afterwards by the obstacles which the viceroys of Brazil opposed to this alteration. As it was their interest on all accounts that the business of the colony should be transacted in the capital, they found means to keep it there; so that this town, which is called either Bahia or San Salvador, became a very flourishing city.

THE way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each side stands a fortress intended rather to prevent landing than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which produce cotton, and form an agreeable prospect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is sheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour, where the largest fleets may ride unmolested. The town commands this harbour, being built on the slope of a steep hill. The Dutch had enclosed it with a rampart of earth, but the Portuguese have let it moulder away, thinking the town sufficiently defended by a number of little forts they have erected at small distances, and by a garrison of four or five hundred men. Any engineer who had skill enough to make the most of the situation, might render it impregnable at a small expence.

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THE place well deserves this attention. It contains two thousand houses, generally well built. They are very elegantly furnished, and the more so as the sumptuary laws restrain all extravagance in dress. By a very old law, which has often been broken, and which extends to the Brazils since the year 1749, the Portuguese are forbidden to wear any gold or silver stuffs, or any laced cloaths; but their passion for finery, which no laws can eradicate, has induced them to contrive some substitute, and to wear crosses, medals, and diamond-chaplets or beads, the rich ensigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themselves, they lavish to adorn their domestic slaves.

As the situation of the town will not admit of riding in coaches, the rich, who will always be distinguished from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silken curtains which they open and shut as they please, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages. The women seldom enjoy this luxury. This people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high festivals; and nobody is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy, does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion. By a more judicious lenity than ours, a girl who, without her mother's consent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with less severity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy by disposing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the scandalous trade of a courtesan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, especially when

when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

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THE want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some; the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme indulgence, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous; the distrust that attends weakness; that indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relates to pleasure or business: all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, in proportion as the government of the mother country is more enlightened. Those improvements in knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a degenerate people.

THE climate, though a good one, is attended with many inconveniencies that lessen its excellence. There is no mutton; poultry is scarce, and beef is bad. The ants destroy the fruits of the earth, as they do all over the colony. The whales devour the fish, or frighten them out of the bay. On the other hand, the wine, the meal, the salt meats, and all the provisions brought from Europe, are not always found when they get there; so that the good sells at an extravagant price. All articles of industry are sold at a still more exorbitant rate. The lowest among the Portuguese, wholly employed in the commerce of tobacco and some other articles, would think it a disgrace to exercise any art. Few of the free men have either genius or inclination for it. The slaves, who make up the greatest part of the population, are all employed by the rich, either in labour or for show.

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Discovery  
of the gold  
and dia-  
mond  
mines in  
Brazil.

NOTWITHSTANDING these defects which generally prevailed, though not to the same degree in all parts of the colony, it had long been in a prosperous condition. In the beginning of this century, the discovery of the gold mines gave it an additional lustre that surprized all nations.

THE circumstances that occasioned this discovery are variously related. The most common opinion is, that a caravan of Portuguese, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent in 1695. They met with the inhabitants of St. Paul, who gave them gold-dust in exchange for some European goods, and found that they fetched it from the mines of Parana-Panama, situated in their neighbourhood.

SOME years after, some soldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were sent to quell some Indians in the inland parts, perceived on their march some golden fish-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, rushing down from the mountains, brought gold into the vallies. Upon this information, a strict search was made, and some rocks were found upon the hills that contained gold; but this false shew of treasures was not thought worth the expence it would occasion for the procuring it; nor was a vein of gold that runs along an immense space, found rich enough to answer the working of it. After many fruitless trials, the Portuguese contented themselves with picking up gold out of the sand, like the savages, when the waters had subsided. This practice has proved very successful at Villa-Rica, and a great way up the country. Government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious soil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there.

THE blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and separating it from the sand and mud, in which it is naturally concealed. The usual custom is, that every slave is required to bring in

the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day ; and if any are so lucky or so diligent as to pick up more, the over-plus is their own property. The first use they make of it, is to buy other slaves to do their work for them, that they may live in idleness. Provided a man brings in his quantity of gold, his master can require nothing more. It is some comfort to a slave, when the drudgery that is required of him will enable him to alleviate his burden.

If we were to estimate the gold that Brazil annually yields, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives, it would appear to be forty-five millions of livres ; (1,968,750*l*.) but we shall not be taxed with exaggeration, if we suppose that one eighth of the duty is kept back, notwithstanding all the vigilance of government.

To this account must be added the silver drawn from the illicit trade with Buenos-Ayres, which was formerly immense ; but the measures lately taken by Spain have reduced it to about three millions (about 131,000*l*.) a year. Many people even wonder that such an intercourse should subsist at all between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and taxing foreign industry pretty much alike, ought certainly to have nothing to sell. It is not considered that the coast of Portugal, being very extensive, and accessible every where, has a great advantage over the peninsula of Cadiz, for eluding the customs, and escaping the payment of the duties on goods brought up for exportation to America. Besides, exchanges are not the only way that Spanish money is poured into the Portuguese coffers. Independent of all sale or purchase, the Peruvians find a great advantage in sending their money over to Europe in this indirect way.

THE first political writers who took notice of the probable consequences of the discovery made in Brazil, did not scruple to foretell that gold and silver would  
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come nearer to each other in value. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them that, though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because there had always been many more silver than gold mines, the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen, as we advance further west.

THE like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It went as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

THE quantity of these metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it at one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

THIS proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since a great quantity comes from the Brazils, this is owing to particular circumstances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels and for gilding, which has prevented the price of silver from falling

falling so much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this spirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common. BOOK  
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AT all times, men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either because originally they were the reward of strength, and the ensign of power, or because they have every where obtained that regard which is due to real merit. A desire of being taken notice of, prompts a man to deck himself with the choicest and most striking gifts of nature. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails amongst the savages as in the civilized nations. Of all the substances that contribute to represent the splendor of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor has any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the sapphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the dearest when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art has added the brilliant and sparkling lustre of the several faces.

THERE are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the East Indies. The oldest is in the river Gouel, that comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soumelpour, from the name of a village situated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. They have always taken out very few, as likewise out of the Succadan, a river in the island of Borneo. The ridge of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in clusters, but scattered up and down, in a sandy, stony

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stony and barren soil, lying at six, eight, ten and twelve feet below the surface, and sometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is bought for a sum of money, and the purchaser is sometimes enriched and sometimes ruined, according as he has good or bad luck.

It was to be feared that the continual wars in India would put an end to this source of riches, when these fears were removed by a discovery that was made at Serra-do-Frio in Brazil. Some slaves who were looking for gold, used to find some little bright stones, that they threw away among the sand and gravel. Some curious miners preserved several of these singular pebbles, which were shewn to Pedro d'Almeida, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he suspected that they might be diamonds. Upon which the court of Lisbon commissioned her minister in Holland, d'Acugna, in 1730, to make the necessary inquiries into the nature of these stones. He put some of them into the hands of able artists, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds.

THE Portuguese immediately searched for them with such success, that the Rio-Janeiro fleet brought home 1146 ounces. This produced such a plenty, that their price fell considerably; but the ministry took such measures as soon made them rise to their original value, which they have maintained ever since. They conferred on a company the exclusive right of seeking and selling diamonds; and even to restrain the eagerness of that company, they were required to employ no more than 600 slaves in that business. They have since been permitted to employ as many as they please, upon condition that they pay 1500 livres (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) for every mine. In both contracts, the court has reserved to itself all diamonds that shall exceed a certain number of carrats. A LAW which forbid on pain of death to encroach on the privilege, was not thought a sufficient security; and

and a shorter way of enforcing the execution was, to depopulate the places that lay near that rich mine, and to make a solitary waste of all the regions that might be tempted to interfere in so lucrative a trade. In the space of a hundred leagues, there is but one village left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's agents and slaves.

THEIR privilege, constantly protected by the mother country, has never met with the least opposition. The government itself is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which must be fluctuating, the court delivers annually, to one single contractor, diamonds to the value of 12,500,000 livres. (546,875*l*.) They engage to sell no others, and hitherto this engagement has been held sacred. They are bought up in their rough state by the English and Dutch, who cut them, and then dispose of them all over Europe, but chiefly in France, where the greatest consumption is made. They are neither so hard nor so clear as those of the East Indies, nor do they sparkle so much, but they are whiter. One of the same weight sells ten per cent. cheaper.

THE finest diamonds in the world are; that of the Great Mogul, which weighs 279 carrats and one sixteenth; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carrats; the great Sancy, of 106 carrats; and the Pitt, 136 carrats three grains. All this is very little, compared to the diamond sent from Brazil to the king of Portugal: it weighs 1680 carrats, or twelve ounces and a half. As we know of no measure to ascertain the value of such a gem, an English writer has ventured to estimate it at 1,298,000,000 of livres. (56,787,500*l*.) A great abatement must be made in this estimate, if, as some very skillful lapidaries suspect, it should prove to be but a topaz.

IT is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the vallies where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that

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that rush into them, and by five small rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. What is certain is, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry; that they are scattered about; and that they are picked up in larger quantities in the rainy season and after violent storms.

THE gold and diamond mines, added to a rich culture, should make Brazil the chief colony in the world; but in order to effect this, it should have been preserved from intestine commotions and foreign invasions. Both these objects therefore were taken into consideration.

Measures  
taken by  
the court  
of Lisbon,  
to secure  
the pro-  
duce of the  
mines.

ALL the mines lay in the districts of St. Vincent and Rio-Janeiro, and in the adjacent lands. Some were in the hands of the inhabitants of St. Paul, and the rest lay open to their inroads. As those banditti were too numerous and too valiant to be brought into subjection by open force, it was thought adviseable to treat with them in the way of trade. As they could make no use of their new acquired wealth, without a free communication with the ports where the luxuries and conveniences of Europe were to be purchased, they were more tractable than was expected. They consented to pay, like the rest of the Portuguese, a fifth of their gold; but they determined the amount of this tribute themselves, and never made it what it ought to have been. Government was wise enough to connive at this fraud. They foresaw that the connections and the new way of life of the inhabitants of St. Paul, would gradually soften their manners, and that sooner or later they would be brought to submit. This revolution accordingly happened about the year 1730. An eloquent, active, and supple man found means to entice the principal men among those adventurers, and the multitude followed their example. The whole republic acknowledged the authority of the court of Lisbon, in the same manner as all the other Portuguese in the Brazils.

BEFORE

BEFORE this great event, the town of Rio-Janeiro BOOK  
V. had been fortified, which is the mart for the produce of all the mines, and of the neighbouring provinces for the consumption of Europe. The bay in which it is situated was first discovered in 1525 by Dias de Solis. Some French protestants, who were persecuted in their own country, made a small settlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This settlement consisted of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with grass, after the manner of the savages in those parts. Some small bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, gave it the name of Fort Coligni. It was destroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who laid the foundation of a town on the continent, which afterwards became considerable by the culture of tobacco, and chiefly of sugar. As it was situated at 22° 20' south latitude, it was far enough from Europe to expect that moderate fortifications would be sufficient to defend it. But the temptation of attacking it having increased in proportion as it grew richer, it was thought proper to strengthen it with additional works. They were far advanced, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with such boldness and skill as redounded much to his honour, and was no small addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have since been added to those the French had mastered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other sides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down gates that defend gold and diamonds. And indeed the court of Lisbon has not thought it sufficient to fortify Rio-Janeiro.

BETWEEN the district of St. Vincent and the mouth of the Plata, is a barren coast, about 150 leagues in length. As it had nothing very inviting for the Portu-

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guesé, they never thought it worth while to settle there. But as gold has lately been found in the rivers that water those deserts, some colonists have been tempted to try their fortune, and government has been endeavouring to give some stability to this new channel of wealth. It has established some posts along the coast, and fortified St. Catherine.

THIS island, which is only parted from the continent by a very small canal, is about nine leagues long and two leagues broad. Though the land is not low, it is not seen at a distance, because it is shaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual spring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables which are so welcome to sailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it constantly damp and unwholesome.

AN hundred and fifty or two hundred banditti, who had fled to this island towards the beginning of this century, acknowledged the authority of Portugal, but did not allow of any exclusive right. They admitted indiscriminately the ships of all nations that were sailing to the South Seas, and gave them the produce of their island in exchange for arms, brandy, linen and wearing apparel. Besides their contempt for gold, they shewed an indifference for all the conveniencies that nature did not afford them, which would have done honour to virtuous men.

THE scum and refuse of polished societies may sometimes produce a decent and well-regulated society. The iniquity of our laws, the unjust distribution of property, the miseries of want, the insolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuse of power, often makes rebels and criminals. If we collect together all those poor wretches who are turned out of society by the too great rigor and often

often the injustice of the laws ; and give them an in-  
 trepid, generous, humane and sensible chief ; we shall  
 make these profligate men become honest, tractable  
 and rational. If their necessities urge them to war,  
 they will be conquerors ; and to aggrandize them-  
 selves, they will violate the rights of nations, though  
 strict observers of their own laws : such were the Ro-  
 mans of old. If for want of an able leader, they are  
 left to chance, and natural events, they will be mis-  
 chievous, restless, rapacious, unsettled, for ever at war,  
 either amongst themselves or with their neighbours :  
 such were the inhabitants of St. Paul. Lastly, if they  
 can more easily live upon the natural fruits of the earth,  
 or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder ; they will  
 contract the virtues proper to their situation, and the  
 gentleness that arises from a rational love of ease. Civi-  
 lized by the happiness and security of an honest and  
 peaceable life, they will respect in others those rights  
 which they themselves enjoy, and will barter the super-  
 fluities of their produce, for the conveniencies of other  
 nations : such were the people of St. Catherine.

BANISHED from their native country by the dread of  
 those grievous punishments too often inflicted on slight  
 offences, they formed a commercial settlement, which  
 was beneficial to the very country that had rejected  
 them. About the year 1738, the crown sent them a  
 governor, and fortified their harbour. As it is far supe-  
 rior to any on that coast, it is easy to foresee that, if the  
 riches of those parts answer the expectation of Portugal,  
 that rendezvous of vagabonds will in time become the  
 chief colony of the Brazils, and the most considerable  
 sea-port in all South America.

It appears from this account, that the court of  
 Lisbon has taken the most prudent measures to secure  
 the produce of the mines. They have not paid the  
 same attention to the culture of lands, nor has that  
 point been so well settled ; yet that inestimable source

Means em-  
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 revive agri-  
 culture in  
 the Brazils,  
 which was  
 abandoned  
 for the  
 mines.



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of riches was then in a critical situation that required mature consideration.

ALL the European nations that had settlements in America, began to cultivate the same productions that had long enriched the Brazils. This competition had reduced the price of those commodities; and the Portuguese laboured as much as ever, while their profits grew constantly less. Their labours grew irksome, and many entirely quitted them, tempted by the hopes of enriching themselves by picking up gold. Had the mother country understood her true interest, and been less elated with this new vein of riches, the misfortunes consequent upon it, might have been prevented. This might easily have been done, by taking off the enormous duties which the colonies paid for all the goods they exported or imported; and rather, if it was found necessary, allowing a bounty, which her new treasures enabled her to do with a liberal hand. This would have been an encouragement to the planter, who knew his soil to be far superior to that of the Leeward islands, and was not ignorant of the other advantages he had over them, to persevere in a labour which must procure him a comfortable subsistence, if not an ample fortune, without any anxiety or uncertainty.

ALL who have attentively observed America, know that the coasts of Brazil are very fertile. Their sugar-canes are stronger than those of the rival colonies, and other productions have the same superiority. They are not reduced to the necessity of manuring a poor or an exhausted soil. They have such plenty of land, that when one piece of ground is spent, they can take a fresh one, that will yield plentiful crops without much trouble. The inland parts only want hands to till them, and many navigable rivers are ready to convey their produce to the sea. The plantations are never destroyed by hurricanes, or parched with drought. There are few situa-

situations in the Brazils where the labours of the field are interrupted by the inclemency of the weather, and none where the inhabitants are swept away by that dreadful mortality, so frequent in many parts of America. The slave does not impatiently expect his subsistence from abroad, or wait till it is wafted over stormy seas, and then find it at such an immoderate price, that he cannot always procure a sufficiency. He finds without much trouble a wholesome and plentiful provision, growing out of the ground he digs. All the labours are performed with ease by the help of the innumerable herds that graze on the meadows. The master, on his part, can be under no apprehension of seeing an end to his good fortune, as he well knows that the colony has not yet attained to a tenth of its culture. They already employ 150,000 blacks, which are annually recruited by 7 or 8000, and may easily be multiplied. As it is customary for the planter to import them directly from Africa, he has nothing to fear from the negligence, unskilfulness or dishonesty of the European merchants. Their ships have the double advantage of making a small stay at the end of their voyage, and of a short and easy passage both going and coming.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the culture of Brazil produced but 22,000,000 weight of raw sugar, 11 or 12,000 bales of tobacco, a little sarsaparilla, cocoa, coffee, rice and indigo; to which were added some whalebone, woods for dying, building, and cabinet-work, and 14 or 15,000 hides.

AMONG all the methods for increasing the produce of so rich a country, the Portuguese ministry have given the preference to the freedom of the Brazilians, as being the safest, the cheapest, and the kindest. They declared in 1755, that for the future, all the subjects of the crown, whether they were so by their own free will or by compulsion, should be deemed citizens to all in-

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tents and purposes, and should be entitled to that appellation on the same terms as the Europeans. No other power has treated its American subjects with so much humanity. This singular circumstance, though so striking, has not even been taken notice of. Every one is intent upon politics, war, pleasure, or fortune. A revolution so favourable to humanity, escapes every eye, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in this enlightened and philosophical age. The public welfare is much talked of, but it is not seen, it is not felt.

PORTUGAL would be revenged of this indifference, if the new system had produced the desired effect. We should see the Brazilians applying themselves to the culture of their lands, and multiplying their produce. Their labour would enable them to procure numberless comforts which they never enjoyed. The sight of their happiness would tempt the savages to quit their forests, and to embrace a more quiet way of life. By degrees, the influence of their example would spread, and in time, all Brazil would be civilized. A mutual confidence would be established between the Americans and the Europeans, and they would become but one nation. All would concur in producing the stock of an immense trade to the mother country, which on her part would take care to send a constant supply for the growing consumption of the colony. An exact balance would be kept up between their reciprocal interests, and great care would be taken that nothing should interrupt so valuable a harmony. The Portuguese would at last, by one act of humanity, have made amends for all the mischief they have done to the inhabitants of America.

UNFORTUNATELY these fair prospects are come to nothing. In order to entertain any rational hopes of success, this great change should have been brought on by slow degrees. The Brazilians might insensibly have been induced to a relish for the sweets of society; they might

might have been trained up to useful labours; they would gradually have got the better of their natural laziness, and been prompted to wish for property. The way being thus prepared for a happy revolution, much would still have remained to be done, which seems to have escaped the penetration of the ministry. They have not granted lands to the naturalized subjects in convenient places. They have not provided them with the necessary stock to begin with. They have not had able guides to direct them; nor have their chiefs been men of integrity and humanity. Nothing, therefore, has been done for the public good, by giving civil liberty to the Brazilians; and much has been done against it, by abridging the Europeans of their freedom, in subjecting them to the tyrannical monopoly of an exclusive privilege. Nobody had foreseen, or even suspected, a regulation so contrary to the genius of the nation.

PORTUGAL has made immense discoveries in Africa, and in the East and West Indies, without the assistance of any company. Mere societies of merchants, in which kings, princes, and noblemen were concerned, fitted out large fleets for those three parts of the world, raised the Portuguese name above all others, and brought about the most important and most interesting commercial revolution the world had ever experienced. It was not to be expected that a nation, which in the barbarous ages, had pursued the inestimable advantages of competition, would at last, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious system; which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a small part of the body politic, leaves nothing in all the rest but languor and death.

THIS system was formed among the ruins of Lisbon, when the earth had as it were cast out her inhabitants, and left them no safety but on the sea or in the other hemisphere. The dreadful shocks that had thrown down that stately capital still continued, and the flames that

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Monopolies established for the trade of Brazil.

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had reduced it to ashes were scarce extinguished, when an exclusive company was established, for the purpose of selling the wine so well known by the name of Port, which is drank in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and chiefly in England. The city of Oporto, the first in the kingdom for population, riches and business since the fall of Lisbon, justly took the alarm, as thinking her trade was going to be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation, in favour of a private association. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the most fruitful in the kingdom, could no longer depend upon her culture. The people grew desperate, and then seditious, and their sedition made the government cruel. Twelve hundred persons were either executed, condemned to hard labour, banished to the forts in Africa, or reduced to beggary by the confiscation of their goods. The monopoly which had occasioned all this mischief, still went on, and continues to this day, attended with all that train of calamities which were foreseen, even by those who are least conversant in political speculation.

THAT fatal experiment, which ought to have been a warning to the ministry, made no impression upon them. They had already, ever since the 6th of June 1755, created the Maragnan company; and, far from receding, they erected the Fernambucca company, four years after, and thereby enslaved all the northern part of Brazil. The stock of the first company consisted of 1200 shares, and the other of 3400. Their charter is for twenty years, and foreigners settled in Portugal may become proprietors. They exercise the most horrid tyranny over the immense coast that has been made over to them. This attempt upon liberty and property has excited a violent spirit of animosity, which is constantly kept up by a visible diminution of commodities.

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WE are ignorant of the reasons that have induced the court of Lisbon to take so unpopular a step, which has given offence to all orders of the state, and all parts of the monarchy. It was pretended that it was done to prevent the contraband trade; but that could never be the only motive for so tyrannical a measure. Exclusive companies are more likely to increase than to check the contraband trade; and besides, it is well known that none is carried on in the south of Brazil, the only part that is affected by the monopoly. The only foreign connections this part of America has, are the dealings of St. Catherine with the ships that frequent the South Seas, and those of Rio-Janeiro with ships of different nations, which, under various pretences, put in there on their way to and from the East Indies.

WHATEVER may have given rise to charter companies, we may venture to affirm that among the powers of Europe, Portugal has not been the greatest loser by this absurd system. That kingdom has adopted the fatal custom of being a bare spectator of the trade that is carried on in its own colonies. So singular an infatuation is come on by degrees.

THE first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia, did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was the general warehouse for India goods, her own filken and woollen manufactures still went on, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the want of population, which was daily increasing. Amongst the many calamities that Spanish tyranny brought upon the kingdom, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of trades much lessened when they recovered their liberty.

Causes of  
the decay  
of Portu-  
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lonies.

THE happy revolution that placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, was the period of that decay.

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The people grew enthusiasts. Some crossed the seas, to go and defend distant possessions against an enemy whom they imagined more formidable than he really was. The rest took up arms to cover the frontiers. Private interest was silenced by the interest of the whole, and every patriot was solicitous for his country alone. It might naturally be expected that when the first heat was over, every one would resume his usual employment; but unfortunately the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with such devastations in an open country, that the people chose rather not to work at all, than expose themselves to see the fruit of their labours continually destroyed. The ministry favoured this inaction by the measures they took, which were highly blameable.

THEIR situation put them under a necessity of forming alliances. Political reasons secured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they reaped from the diversion made in Portugal, could not but attach them to her interest. If the new court had formed such extensive views as their proceedings seemed to indicate, they would have known that they had no need to make any concessions in order to secure friends. By an ill-judged precipitation, they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almost as much interested in its preservation as they were themselves. This infatuation made those powers imagine they might venture any thing, and they accordingly stretched their privileges that had been granted them, far beyond what was intended. The industry of the Portuguese was destroyed by this competition, but was again excited by an error of the French ministry.

FRANCE, who then had but a little bad tobacco, and no sugar at all, in 1644, without any apparent reason, prohibited the importation of sugar and tobacco from Brazil. Portugal, in return, prohibited the importation of

of all French manufactures, the only ones they valued at that time. Genoa immediately seized upon the silk trade, and has ingrossed it ever since ; but the nation, after some hesitation, began in 1681 to manufacture their own woollen goods ; and having seduced some English artificers, were enabled, in 1684, to prohibit several kinds of cloth, and soon after all sorts.

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ENGLAND, which had advanced her own trade with Portugal upon the ruins of that of France, was much chagrined at the turn it had taken. For a long time, the English strove to open the communication afresh, and more than once they thought they had attained their end, but at last found themselves further from it than ever. There was no knowing where all this would end, when a revolution happened in the political system of Europe, that at once overturned all the former ideas.

A GRANDSON of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this accession of power to the house of Bourbon, which they already thought too powerful and too ambitious. Portugal in particular, who had always considered France as a fast friend, now beheld in her an enemy who must wish, and, perhaps, promote her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, who never failed to turn every negociation to her own commercial advantage, and was far from neglecting this opportunity. The English ambassador Methuen, a profound and able negociator, signed a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Lisbon engaged to permit the importation of all British woollen goods, on the same footing as before the prohibition, on condition that the Portugal wines should pay a duty one third less than the French, on being imported into England.

THE advantages of this stipulation were very real for one of the parties, but by no means so for the other. England obtained an exclusive privilege for the manufactures,



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factures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to those of other nations; but granted nothing on her side; having already settled, for her own interest, the very thing that she artfully pretended to grant as a great favour. Since France bought no more cloths of the English, they had observed that the dearness of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had endeavoured to lessen the consumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increased them from the same motive, and still made a merit of it to the court of Lisbon, as being a proof of singular friendship. The Portuguese manufactures fell, being unable to support the competition of the English. Great Britain clothed her new ally, and as the wine, oil, salt, and fruit she bought, was a trifle in comparison to what she sold, it was made up with the gold of Brazil. The balance was more and more in favour of the English, and, indeed, it could not well be otherwise.

ALL who are conversant with the theory of commerce, or have attended to its revolutions, know that an active, rich and sensible nation, who have once got possession of a capital branch of trade, will soon ingross the whole. They have so great an advantage over their competitors, that they weary them out, and make themselves masters of the countries where their industry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain has found means to ingross the whole produce of Portugal and her colonies.

THE English find the Portuguese in clothing, food, small wares, materials for building, and all their articles of luxury, and return them their own materials manufactured. This employs a million of English artificers and husbandmen.

THEY furnish them with ships, and with naval and warlike stores for their settlements abroad, and carry on all their navigation at home.

THEY

THEY carry on the whole money trade of Portugal. BOOK  
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They borrow money in London at three or three and a half per cent, and negociate it at Lisbon, where it is worth ten. In ten years time, the capital is paid by the interest, and still remains due.

THEY ingross all the inland trade. There are English houses settled at Lisbon which receive all the commodities of their own country, and distribute them to merchants, who dispose of them in the provinces, mostly for the profit of their employers. A small allowance is the only reward of their industry, to the disgrace of a nation who is mean enough to work at home for the profit of another.

THEY carry off even the commission trade. The fleets destined for the Brazils are the sole property of the English. The riches they bring home are all their own. They will not even suffer them to pass through the hands of the Portuguese, and only borrow their name, because they cannot do without it. These foreigners disappear as soon as they have got the fortune they intended, and leave that nation impoverished and exhausted, at whose expence they have enriched themselves. It is demonstrable from the registers of the fleets, that in the space of sixty years, that is, from the discovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres (105,000,000*l.*) worth of gold has been brought away from Brazil, and yet it is fact that in 1754, all the cash in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000, (on an average not much more than 750,000*l.*) and at that time the nation owed 72,000,000; (3,150,000*l.*) so that Portugal must have been in a dreadful situation.

BUT what Lisbon has lost, London has gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a secondary power. Though the changes that had successively happened in the religion, government, and industry

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dustry of the English had improved their condition, increased their strength, and unfolded their genius, they could not possibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raise a nation to any pitch, when without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged singly out of nothing, were inadequate in modern times, when the intercourse of nations made the advantages of each common to all, and thereby left to numbers and strength their natural superiority. Since soldiers, generals and nations fought for hire; since the power of gold opened every cabinet and made every treaty; England had learnt that the greatness of a state depended upon its riches, and that its political power was estimated by its millions. This truth, which must have alarmed the ambition of the English, became favourable to them as soon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend on them for necessaries, and had bound them by treaties to an impossibility of procuring them otherwise. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a false friend for food and raiment. These were, to borrow the expression of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had fastened upon that empire. They went further still: they made the Portuguese lose all regard, all weight, all influence in the general system of affairs, by persuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Trust to us, said the English, for your safety; we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodshed or labour, and without any of the calamities that attend conquest, they made themselves more effectually masters of Portugal than the Portuguese were of the mines of Brazil.

EVERY thing is connected together, both in nature and in politics. It is hardly possible that a nation should lose its agriculture and its industry, without a visible decay of the liberal arts, letters, sciences, and all the sound principles of government and administration. Portugal

is a melancholy instance of this truth. Since Great Britain has condemned that people to a state of inaction, they are fallen into such barbarism as is hardly credible. That light which has shone all over Europe, seems to have stopped at the Pyrenees. They have gone backward, and have incurred the contempt of surrounding nations, after having excited their emulation and provoked them to jealousy. The advantage of having enjoyed excellent laws, whilst all other states groaned under horrible confusion, hath availed them nothing. They have lost the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reason, morality, and politics. The efforts they might make to emerge from this state of languor and blindness, may possibly, prove ineffectual; because good reformers are not easily to be found in that nation which stands most in need of them. Men who are qualified to change the face of empires, commonly come from far; and seldom start up at once. They generally have their fore-runners, who awaken the minds of the people, dispose them to receive the light, and prepare the necessary instruments for bringing about a great revolution. As there is no appearance of any such preparatory steps in Portugal, it is to be feared the nation must still continue in this humiliating condition, unless they will adopt the maxims of more enlightened states, making the proper allowances for their situations, and call in the assistance of foreigners capable of directing them.

THE first step towards their recovery, that leading one without which all the rest would be unsteady, uncertain, and even dangerous, would be to shake off the English yoke. Portugal in her present situation, cannot do without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her interest to promote the greatest competition of sellers she possibly can, in order to reduce the price of what she must needs buy. As it is no less the interest of the Portuguese to dispose of the overplus of their own produce

Means of  
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Portugal  
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By the treaty of 1703, the Portuguese are only bound to permit the importation of woollen goods from England, on the terms stipulated before the prohibition. Now they might safely grant the same privilege to other nations, without incurring the blame of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation, was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, that could abridge the prince who granted it, of his right of extending it to other nations. He is the undoubted judge of what suits his own kingdom. We cannot easily guess what rational objection a British minister could make to a king of Portugal who should tell him; I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will find my subjects as cheap and cheaper than you, and will take the produce of my colonies, whereas you will take nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise conduct would have, by what has happened, independent of this spirited resolution. Portugal receives annually to the value of seventy millions in foreign commodities, which she pays for in the produce of her land, and in gold and diamonds, or remains debtor. The allurements of a gain of thirty-five per cent. which is no uncommon thing in this trade, induces all nations to be concerned in it as much as possible; nor are they deterred from it by the well-grounded fear of being never paid, or at least very late. Most of them have been successful in their endeavours. France and Italy have ingrossed one third of those imports. Holland, Hamburgh, and the rest of the north carry off as much; and England, which formerly absorbed almost the whole, comes in for the remaining

maining third. It appears from the registers of the customs, that in the space of five years, from 1762 to 1766 inclusively, England has sent goods to Portugal, only to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 sous; (4,183,092*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .) and has received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075 livres; (1,652,047*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .) so that the balance in money has been but 57,692,475 livres. (2,524,045*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

WHAT deceives all Europe as to the extent of the English trade, is that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. That influx seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the business carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit, and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, whence the merchants dispersed in the several countries draw them off, either in kind or by bills of exchange, paying one per cent.

THE British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the decay of this most valuable trade, have for some time past taken incredible pains to restore it to its former state. Their endeavours will never succeed, because this is one of those events which are not within the reach of political wisdom. If the evils arose from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, well conducted negotiations might set all right again. But this is not the case. The court of Lisbon has invariably pursued the same track, both with regard to Great Britain and to all other nations. Her subjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the commodities brought from all parts of

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Europe, than that those of their old friends were so loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portuguese will get many articles cheaper still, whenever their government shall establish a perfect equality in their ports for all nations.

THE court of Lisbon, after removing in some measure the disadvantages of their passive trade, should endeavour to make it active. Their own inclination, the taste of the age, and the desire of fame, seem to incline them to give the preference to manufactures. A tolerable quantity of coarse woollen stuffs are already wove in the inland provinces, though the wool is too short, and might be better employed to other purposes. Government has silk manufactures at Lisbon and at Lamego, which cost more than they are worth. If they do not weave gold or silver, it is because the wear of them is strictly prohibited both at home and abroad. We have shewn above that this kind of industry is not fit for Spain; and for the same reasons it is unfit for Portugal. They ought rather to think of encouraging agriculture.

THE climate is favourable to silk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptized Jews made it their business to breed worms and to prepare the silk, till they were persecuted by the inquisition, which was still more severe and more powerful under the house of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spanish dominion. Most of the artificers fled to the kingdom of Valencia, and those who chose to sell their industry, removed with their effects to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both those countries. This dispersion was the ruin of the silk trade in Portugal, so that no trace of it is now to be seen; but it might be resumed.

THE next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive tree. It now exists, and constantly supplies all that is wanted for home consumption, besides

sides a small quantity every year for exportation; but this is not sufficient. Portugal might easily enter into an open competition with the nations that make the greatest profit of that commodity, which is wholly confined to the southern provinces of Europe.

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THEIR wool is likewise capable of improvement. Though it is inferior to that of Spain; the French, the Dutch, and even the English, buy up twelve or thirteen thousand quintals every year, and would buy more, if it were to be had in all markets. All who have travelled through Portugal, with that spirit of observation, which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of industry, and that on the contrary it might tend to their improvement.

THAT of salt seems to have been more attended to. The north annually takes off 130 tons, which may cost 1,500,000 livres. (about 65,690*l*.) It is corrosive, and lessens the weight and the taste of meats; but it preserves fish and flesh longer than French salt. This property will occasion a greater demand for it, as navigation grows more extensive.

WE cannot take upon us to promise the same success with regard to their wines. They are so indifferent, that it is surprising how so many nations in Europe could ever think of making them their constant drink. It is still more surprising how the Portuguese ministry could ever make such an ill use of their authority, as to impede so profitable a culture. The order for rooting up the vines could only be dictated by private interest or false views. The pretence for so extraordinary a law is so absurd, that no body has given credit to it. It is very well known that the ground where the vines have stood, can never be fit for the culture of corn.



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BUT, if the thing were ever so practicable, it would still be an unwarrantable infringement of the sacred and unalienable right of property. In a monastery indeed, every thing belongs to all ; nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community ; it is one single animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thousand, ten thousand heads. But it is not the same in society. Here every single head has its property, a share of the general wealth, which he is absolute master of, and which he is free to use, or even to abuse, as he thinks proper. A private man must be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if it suits him, without the intervention of administration. If government sets up for a judge of the abuse, it will soon set up for a judge of the use of things ; and then there is an end of all true notions of liberty and property. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy ; if it inflict punishments on my disobedience, my negligence or my folly, and that under pretence of public utility, I am no longer absolute master of my own, I am only an administrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in society, must in this respect be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, because he will soon be severely punished by poverty, and by contempt, which is worse than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is such a fool as is seldom met with, and, therefore, ought not to be restrained by prohibitive laws, which would be bad in themselves, as being an attack upon the universal and sacred notion of property. In every well regulated constitution, the business of the magistrate must be confined to what concerns the public safety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the observance of the laws. Wherever authority is stretched beyond this mark, we may venture to affirm that the people

people are exposed to depredation. If we take a survey of all ages and all nations, that great and fine idea of public utility will present itself to our imagination under the symbolical figure of an Hercules, knocking down with his club one part of the people, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the other part, who know not that they are quickly to fall under the same strokes. BOOK  
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To return to Portugal; that country stands in need of other measures than have hitherto been pursued to restore the most important of its culturea. It is in so languid a state, that the Portuguese annually import three fourths of the corn they consume. It is well known that before they had applied themselves to navigation, they supplied great part of the Mediterranean with corn, and sometimes England itself. Their own wants now call for the exertion of their activity. Nothing but a total impossibility can justify a government, that suffers both the mother country and her colonies to depend upon other nations for the common necessaries of life.

THE court of Lisbon would be very dangerously mistaken in imagining that time alone may bring about so great a revolution. It concerns them to prepare the way by lessening the duties, and especially by diminishing the expence of raising them, which is sometimes more oppressive than the duty itself. When this impediment is removed, all kinds of encouragement must be given. One of the most fatal prejudices, and most destructive of the happiness of men and the prosperity of nations, is that of supposing that hands alone are wanting to cultivate the ground. The experience of all ages has shewn, that much must be given to the earth, before much can be required of her. There are not, perhaps, in all Portugal, twenty farmers who are able to advance the necessary sums. Government must, therefore, assist them. A revenue of about forty-four

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millions, (1,925,000*l.*) near half of which comes from the mother country, and the rest from the colonies, will facilitate these liberalities, which are oftentimes more oeconomical than the most sordid avarice..

THIS first change will be productive of others. The arts necessary for culture will infallibly rise and grow up with it. Industry will spread by degrees, and put forth all its branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an instance of a savage people in the midst of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himself to celibacy, or to go abroad for employment. Commodious houses will rise out of ruins; and work-shops take place of convents. Now, like those shrubs that lie scattered and lowly creep on the ground that covers the richest mines, the subjects of this drooping state, will no longer starve, with their golden rivers and mountains. Gold and silver will circulate again, and will no longer be buried in churches. Superstition will be at an end, together with laziness, ignorance and dejection. The minds of men, who now divide their time between debauchery and pious expiations of it, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public spirit. The nation freed from its fetters, and restored to its natural activity, will exert itself with a spirit worthy of its former exploits.

PORTUGAL will then remember, that she was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her strength, and will attend to the restoration of it. It will no longer be reduced to eighteen men of war, ill built, and as ill manned and armed, and about a hundred merchant-men, from six to eight hundred tons burden, still more wretchedly fitted out. Her population, which has insensibly sunk from three millions of souls to eighteen hundred thousand, will revive to cover her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy, no doubt, will be difficult for a power whose flag is not known

known on any of the European seas, and who, for a century past, has given up her navigation to whoever would undertake it: but a government once grown wife, will surmount every obstacle. When once they have recovered their proper share of navigation, they will keep immense sums in the nation, which are constantly expended for freight.

THIS change will influence the islands dependent on Portugal. The port of Madeira will no longer be open to the English. The mother country will have the sole power of disposing of twenty-five or thirty thousand pipes of rich wine which that island produces. It will be in the roads of Lisbon and Oporto that all nations will fetch that choice liquor, which is in such request in the four quarters of the globe. The Azores will furnish Portugal with oxen for the plough and for food, which cannot so well be bred at home, on account of the dryness of the soil; and the Cape de Verd islands will supply them with more mules than they want. The New England people formerly fetched them thence to carry to the Leeward islands; but a great mortality that happened in 1750, put an end to that trade. The vacancies will soon be filled up, by a close attention to the breeding of this cattle.

THESE alterations will be productive of still more material ones. Brazil, which has no other fault than that of being too large for Portugal; which has only a few habitations scattered along the sea coasts; and has no other colonists in the inland parts, but what are employed in the mines, will then assume a new face: their government will be new modelled. Their masters will be convinced how great a mistake has been committed with regard to all the modern nations, by transferring to the new discovered world all the absurdities of feudal government, accumulated on the old through a long series of ages. A few plain laws will be substituted

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tuted in the place of the subtle arts of chicane, which are no better than refinements on tyranny, and an increase of oppression.

THE execution of these laws will be secured, if employments are not sold, and if a proper choice is made, and good governors appointed to command Para, Bahia and Rio-Janeiro, who shall be independent on each other, though the latter has the title of viceroy. The vigilance of the three chiefs will put an end to the treacheries and enormities which the Brazilian Portuguese have too long been guilty of, or caused their slaves to commit.

HAVING thus reformed their manners, the next step will be to regulate their administration. The tyranny of fleets being once removed, and every one left at liberty to send out ships from the mother country, this freedom will be attended with other favourable innovations. Expeditions will not be confined to the roads of Lisbon and Oporto, because as the other ports bear their part in the public expences, it is but fit they should enjoy the same advantages. Exclusive companies will be abolished. That load of taxes, which is the bane of Europe, will no longer afflict the Brazils. The colony will not be devoured with that swarm of contractors who are the ruin of the most successful labours. The mother country will be convinced that she has no right to demand any thing of her colonies but their produce. This produce itself will not at first be impeded, by enormous duties that stop its circulation. Gold, that ensign of all riches, that choicest commodity of Brazil, freed from the fetters that obstructed its progress, will freely flow into all countries which have any thing to offer in return. Dutch, French, and English men of war, need not then lend their flag to smuggle it out.

AGRICULTURE, ennobled by liberty, will shake off the yoke of oppression, the consequence of ignorance, avarice, and despotism. The means of improvement will daily

daily increase. The Portuguese, who first opened Africa to other nations, have, notwithstanding their decay, preserved some considerable advantages in that country. They possess large colonies on the best coast for the slave trade, whilst the rival nations have only small factories; and some have none at all. By that means, they get their negroes one third cheaper than they are to be had in the ports where there is a competition; so that the Brazils will certainly take a great many more, when once the duty is taken off, which is now ten per cent. upon the heads of these unhappy Africans, as it is upon all commodities that come from Europe. The mother country will give a further encouragement to this trade, since after all, ambition will carry it on against the expostulations of humanity, by permitting the colony to make their own salt, instead of sending for it from Portugal, as they are now compelled to do. This will facilitate the victualing of their ships, by adding salt beef and pork to their provision, which hitherto has been only cassada and dried fish. Then, instead of thirty or forty ships, from sixty to a hundred tons burden, which are annually fitted out, they will fit out a hundred, and in time many more if they chuse it.

THIS improvement might be hastened, by permitting a direct navigation from the Brazils to the East Indies. This trade peculiarly suits Portugal; and it would be good policy to extend it as much as possible. As the Portuguese neither have nor can have any manufactures of their own, they ought to give the preference to the lightest and cheapest linens and stuffs, which are most suitable to their own climate and that of their colonies, and absolutely necessary for their African settlements. The mother country would be no loser by associating Brazil to this branch of industry. They cannot have forgot that they formed a company in 1723, which did not succeed. From that time, only one ship has been fitted

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fitted out yearly, which for a long while put in at Bahia on her return from Asia, and for some years past, calls for refreshments at Angola, by order of the government to which it belongs. Many more would be sent from Brazil. Their contraband trade with Buenos-Ayres would supply them with piastres for their traffic, and the Amazon with part of the materials for navigation. The banks of that immense river abound with excellent wood. It is known to be very lasting; the worm, that scourge of the navy, never gets at it, and the scurvy never appears on board the ships that are made of it. The difficulty of getting hemp or flax is already removed. Two plants have been discovered, which grow in great plenty in the forests about Bahia, called *Gravata* and *Tieu*, which make very good thread for coarse linen, sail-cloth and ropes. Unfortunately a private man in the neighbourhood has got a patent for fifteen years for the sole working of it.

AN infallible way to the speedy attainment of these great ends would be to open the ports of Brazil to all nations. Such a liberty would give the colony that alacrity which it never can acquire without it. The nations that would have dealings with them, would be interested in their prosperity and defence. They would be far more serviceable to the mother country, by the gradual increase of their customs than by a pernicious monopoly. Portugal that has no manufactures, must pursue a different system from the other powers in Europe, who have more goods than they want to supply their American settlements; and the very competition that might be prejudicial to them, will certainly be very advantageous to the Portuguese.

If the court of Lisbon does not determine for this scheme, which no doubt may be liable to some objections, it must at least repeal the law that forbids all foreigners settling in the Brazils. Not fifty years ago, there were several English, Dutch, and French houses,  
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whose industry encouraged every kind of labour. Far from driving them away by barbarously oppressing them, they ought to have been courted, and encouraged to fix there, and to engage others to follow their example. Not that, strictly speaking, there is a scarcity of white people in those vast regions. By a calculation that may be depended on, they amount to near 600,000. This is more than are to be found in any other colony; but the Creole Portuguese are so indolent, so corrupt, so passionately addicted to pleasure, that they are grown incapable of the smallest application to business. Perhaps, the only way to rouse this degenerate race, would be to set before their eyes some laborious men, and to allot them suitable parcels of land.

THIS might easily be done. On the banks of the most navigable rivers are large plains that belong to nobody, and might enrich any one who would take the pains to plough them up. Even by the sea side, it would be an easy matter to settle a good number of farmers. On the first discovery of that country, government had granted whole provinces to several noblemen, under the title of captainships; but has afterwards withdrawn these grants, and given them in exchange, titles, pensions, or other favours. By this means a vast domain is returned to the crown, which now lies waste, and might be usefully employed. An infinite number of English, French, and Dutch colonists, whose plantations are exhausted, and many Europeans who have the fashionable passion of wanting to make a fortune, would gladly remove there with their industry and their whole stock.

By way of encouragement, they must be secured from the fury of the inquisition. That cruel tribunal has never, indeed, been erected in Brazil; but they have their emissaries there, who are worse, if possible, than themselves. It may be remembered, that from the year 1702



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to 1718, those infamous men sent over to Europe a prodigious number of priests, monks, and proprietors of land, and even negroes, whom they accused of Judaism. Those oppressions ruined agriculture to such a degree, that the fleets of 1724 and 1725 found no provisions there. In 1728, the government enacted that for the future, if any colonist was taken up by the holy office, his goods and chattels and his slaves should not be forfeited, and that his fortune should descend to his heirs. The mischief that was already done, could not be repaired by this decree, nor can mutual confidence be restored, till the authors of the disorders that have ruined the colony are recalled.

EVEN this will not be sufficient, without abridging the power of the clergy. Some states have been known to favour the corruption of priests, to weaken the ascendant that superstition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has passed in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be safer and better to open the doors of the sanctuary to all the citizens without distinction. Philip II. when he became master of Portugal, enacted that they should be shut against all such whose blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, heretics, negroes or Indians. This distinction has given a dangerous superiority to a set of men who were already too powerful. It has been abolished in the African settlements; why should it not be so in those of America? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, should they not be abridged of the power they assume on account of their riches.

SOME politicians have asserted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them. That this method would  
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be a spur to their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the cure of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an oeconomy which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. They observe that churches and religious houses which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people; where saints, miracles, relicks, and all the inventions with which imposture has loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to society, if the clergy had a stated provision; but so moderate as to restrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them seditious.

THIS was the opinion of a philosopher, who said to a great monarch; There is a powerful body in your dominions, who have assumed a power of suspending the labour of your subjects, whenever they please to call them into their temples. This body is authorized to speak to them a hundred times a year, and to speak in the name of God. They tell them that the most powerful sovereign is no more in the sight of the supreme being than the meanest slave; and that as they are the organ of the maker of all things, they are to be believed in preference to the master of the world. The consequences of such a system threaten the total subversion of society, unless the ministers of religion are made dependant on the magistrate; and they will never be effectually so, unless they hold their subsistence of him. This is the only way to establish a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the business  
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**BOOK** of a prudent administration to bring this about without  
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TILL the court of Lisbon has attained this salutary end, all our projects of reformation will be to no purpose. The mischiefs of ecclesiastical government will still subsist, notwithstanding all endeavours to reform them. it must be brought to depend upon the magistrate, before the Portuguese who live in Brazil can dare to oppose its tyranny. It was even to be feared that the prejudices they have imbibed from a faulty and monastic education, may be too deeply rooted in their minds, to be ever eradicated. These improvements in knowledge seem to be reserved for the next generation. This revolution might be hastened by obliging the chief proprietors to send their children to Europe for education, and by putting the public schools upon a better footing in Portugal.

ALL ideas are easily impressed upon tender organs. The soul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falsehood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reason; to make use of it, or to neglect it; to consider it as their best guide, or to mistrust its powers. Fathers obstinately defend the absurdities they were taught in their infancy; their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been brought up. They will bring home sound notions of religion, morality, administration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother country will confer places of trust on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be quite changed. Writers who speak of her, will no longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the blunders, the superstitions which have been the ground-work of her administration. History will no longer be the satire of this colony.

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THE fear of incensing Great Britain must not protract these happy alterations one single moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the slightest examination. There are numberless political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Lisbon, that the state cannot exist or prosper, but by means of the English. They forget that the Portuguese monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their quarrels with the Moors, they were supported by no foreign power; that their greatness had been increasing for three centuries successively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and both the Indies by their own strength. All these great political revolutions were performed by the Portuguese alone. Was it necessary then that this nation should discover a great treasure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to suggest the idea of its being unable to support itself? Are the Portuguese to be compared to those upstarts, whose heads are turned by the embarrassment, which their newly acquired riches occasion?

No nation ought to submit to be protected. If the people are wise, they will have forces relative to their situation; and will never have more enemies than they are able to withstand. Unless their ambition is unbounded, they have allies, who for their own sake, will warmly support their interest. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to those nations that are possessed of mines. It is the interest of all other nations to keep well with them, and if there is occasion for it, they will all unite for their preservation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herself, though deprived of the preference she has too long enjoyed, will still support a nation whose independence is essential to the balance of power in Europe.

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Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cause, if Spain should ever be so mad for conquest, as to attempt any thing against Portugal. Never would the jealous, restless, and quick sighted policy of our age suffer all the treasures of the other hemisphere to be in the same hands, or that one house should be so powerful in America as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

THIS security, however, should not induce the court of Lisbon to neglect the means of their own preservation, as they did when they trusted to the British arms for their defence, or indolently rested on the supineness of their neighbours; when, destitute of land or sea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political system, which is the greatest disgrace that can befall a nation. If they will regain the consequence they have lost, they must put themselves in such a posture as not to be afraid of war, and even to be the aggressor, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extensive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will affect all the rest. Even those which are furthest removed from the seat of war, are oftentimes the victims of their moderation and weakness. These maxims are applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical situation of her haughty allies, the solicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendship, all in short calls upon her to rouse and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves, and whence they must derive their prosperity, if they do not shew their strength at the extremity of Europe, where nature has so happily placed them, their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had  
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shaken off for a moment : as a lion that should fall asleep at the door of his den after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is still within, would but indicate those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, respecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the marine, whether at home or for the colonies, would be only palliatives, which, by concealing their situation, would render it the more dangerous.

It cannot be denied that Portugal has missed the fairest opportunity that ever could offer, of resuming her former splendour. It is not from politics alone that all revolutions arise. Some destructive phenomenon may change the face of an empire. The memorable earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have given a new birth to the kingdom. The ruin of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Piles of stone heaped upon one another might fall to pieces ; effects, chiefly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed ; idle, debauched and corrupt men might be buried under heaps of rubbish, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit of rage, had only taken what it was able to restore ; and the gulphs it opened under one city, were ready digged for the foundations of another.

A NEW state, a new people, might have been expected to rise out of those ruins. But as much as these great and uncommon starts of nature quicken great minds, so much do they depress those which are enervated by a long habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the bounda-

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ries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant the nation grew more timorous. Men of hardened consciences oppressed those of a more tender cast; and the æra of this great phenomenon proved that of an increase of slavery; a lamentable, but common effect of the catastrophes of nature, which generally lay men open to the artifices of the great, who are desirous to exert their power over them. It is on these occasions they find means to multiply acts of arbitrary power; whether those who govern, do really believe that the people were born to obey them, or whether they think that, by extending their own power, they increase the strength of the public. Those false politicians are not aware that with such principles, a state is like an overstrained spring, that will break at last, and recoil against the hand that bends it. The present situation of the continent of South America, but too plainly proves the justness of this comparison: let us now proceed to shew the effects of a different conduct in the American islands.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









